

## Why, Mrs. Gandhi?

The deepening crisis of democracy in India is a saddening and shocking spectacle. Over 900 political opponents of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are now in jail. Police are forcefully breaking up protest demonstrations and arresting demonstrators. A news blackout is in effect.

That press censorship should extend even to the dispatches of foreign correspondents is outrageous. Foreign newsmen have been warned that failure to clear their stories could mean expulsion from the country. How can such a measure be justified by a nation that claims to be a democracy and a responsible member of the world community?

Could it be that Indian democracy was never as deeply rooted as once thought? In the years of its independence India has generally impressed the world with the degree of freedom of speech and political activity it has tolerated. But this is the first time there has been a serious political threat to Mrs. Gandhi's leadership and that alone seems to be the excuse for the extreme measures imposed on the country. Yet this is what democracy is supposed to be about — the freedom of

opposition political forces to come to power if that is the majority will.

Hence this is India's first real test of its British-inherited political system and Mrs. Gandhi is drawing back from the challenge. All she seeks apparently is to preserve power at all costs. What she wants to achieve beyond that is not clear.

Curiously, Mrs. Gandhi has not used her state of emergency to any constructive end. Price controls have been imposed but this is little more than a palliative. The Prime Minister has yet to come up with a program of economic and social reforms that would appeal to the populace and take the sting out of the opposition. The central dismal fact of Indian life today is that most Indians are not much better off than they were 28 years ago.

At the moment it is difficult to assess the threat to law and order in India because of the news blackout. But it would appear that Mrs. Gandhi is treading a dangerous course. The longer she persists with her ruthless actions the harder it will be to reverse course — and this could unleash forces beyond her control.

## Hands off Lebanon!

The political crisis in Lebanon, the most serious since the state gained its independence, is taking a high toll. It has caused substantial loss of life and disrupted activity in the Middle East's most important business and commercial center. It is also adding to tensions and turmoil in the region at a time when earnest diplomatic efforts are under way to achieve an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In this situation it would be most helpful if outside powers refrained from intervention in Lebanon's affairs and left the Lebanese free to work out their own factional problems. Unfortunately this is not the case. Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi, a militant and ambitious man who is doing his best to upset a Mideast settlement, is reliably reported to be funneling up to \$1 million a day into Lebanon to support Muslim leftist partisans and keep the pot boiling.

Other Arab leaders responsibly are trying to damp down the dangers. President Sadat of Egypt, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, and President Assad of Syria all have been involved in benevolent efforts to mediate the dispute. The main leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, moreover, is committed to cooperation with the Lebanese authorities because Lebanon provides the PLO a secure base for the Palestinian guerrillas.

A compromise Cabinet representing various religious and political groups has been announced, although at this writing the fighting has not stopped. If the strife continues, the danger is not ruled out that the Lebanese Army will be used against the extremist Palestinian guerrillas, inviting intervention by both Syria and Israel.

At the root of Lebanon's crisis is the growing sectarian dispute between Christians and Muslims over how power should be

shared. The Muslims, who have a high birthrate, maintain that they and not the Christians are the majority in the country and therefore the time has come to change the present power-sharing formula under which the President of Lebanon is a Christian and other posts are carefully divided up among various religious sects.

The formula now worked out in Beirut is a sensible one. The Cabinet includes six members representing the three most powerful Christian and three most powerful Muslim groups.

## Mr. Richard Nixon testifies

Former President Richard Nixon apparently hopes that his testimony to two grand jury members about Watergate will stand him in good stead with American public opinion. He could have been subpoenaed again but chose instead to appear voluntarily. He even asked his lawyers to make public the fact of his appearance.

This would seem to lay the ground for Mr. Nixon's possible return to public life. There have been reports that he wants to give up his cloistered existence at San Clemente and return to New York, possibly even taking a world tour. With Watergate testimony behind him, such a reemergence into the limelight would be eased.

The fact remains, however, that Mr. Nixon waited to give his testimony until a few days before the Watergate grand jury goes out of existence. If there had been a genuine concern about justice, he could have made an effort to provide his testimony much earlier. Now there is a question as to how useful the testimony will be unless it is considered significant enough to extend the grand jury or create another one. If the interrogation had



The Christian Science Monitor

Step-by-step diplomacy

## Readers write

### Troubled Africa

Editorial comment in the Monitor sees the American centennial celebrations as strengthening the call for American support of liberation movements fighting for "representative government" in southern Africa. All right-minded people would support pressure for representative government everywhere, but curiously a blind eye is turned to the independent black African states, where the need is as great as anywhere.

No black state in Africa practices "representative government." In every case there is either military dictatorship or one-party states where candidates are chosen by the ruling echelons. Furthermore, it is to be noted that in no single instance has any African leader been chosen through the ballot box.

Apologists go to extraordinary lengths to overlook or excuse the extremes and deficiencies of African governments. Even the execution without trial of 38 "opponents" in Ethiopia was reported in the Monitor. In the case of an afternoon's outing. But this is perhaps a minor thing in a continent where, since 1960, literally millions of Africans have been slaughtered by other Africans with scarcely a protest from the world. But the world remembers Sharpeville.

There are indeed anomalies and injustices in South Africa and Rhodesia but these are greater in many black African states, though masked by the belief that black government is synonymous with "representative government."

Ethel Verner Humphrey  
Lydenburg, Transvaal, South Africa

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. All are subject to condensation.

Printed in Great Britain by King & Hinchings, Ltd., at the Christian Science Publishing Co., One Hoxton Street, Boston, U.S.A.  
London Office: 4, 5 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, July 14, 1975

60¢ U.S. 25p. U.K.

## Britain gets back on the track again

Political fantasy eroded by economic fact

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

In spite of some defiant rhetoric from the far left, there are growing signs that the British Labour movement is coming to its economic senses at last. The lengthy process of educating the trade unions in the facts of life seem to be paying off.

If this is indeed true, the cost will have been heavy but worth it. In particular the Wilson government's decision to allow, and even (through higher taxes) encourage inflation to hit the workers directly, has proved penetrating. That sort of education is calculated to prove far more effective than compulsion by state decree.

All of this implies that Mr. Wilson has not simply been vacillating all these months, but biding his time while the message sank in. His critics have always acknowledged that if he has one permanent principle before him, it is preserving the unity of the party. After what happened to the Heath government, he knows he cannot coerce the unions. After what happened to the old "Social Contract" on wage restraint, he knows that the unions are not equipped to enforce a wage policy of their own. But the unions know equally now that there must be such a policy.

By enforcing restraint upon employers rather than employees, Mr. Wilson both avoids a direct confrontation with the unions, and obliges them to toe the line — or face unemployment as their employers either cut jobs or go bankrupt. The result will probably be a kind of moral

\*Please turn to Page 6



Harold Wilson: the fruits of victory

Moderates triumph in miners' pay quest

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Searborough, England

At close to the 11th hour, a national consensus to fight 25 percent a year inflation and put Britain back on the road to economic health seems to be shaping up.

The mood was palpable among delegates to the mineworkers' annual conference here, who beat down extremist attempts to demand a whopping £100 (\$230) a week wage for coal-face workers.

It underlay the Trade Union Congress leaders' acceptance, after hours of discussions at the Treasury, to hold down pay raise claims in the next annual round of a flat £ 6 (\$13.80) a week for everyone instead of demanding 30 percent increases as heretofore.

It could be felt in Committee Room 10 of the House of Commons, where Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey told Labour MPs: "There can be a 10 percent cut in our standard of living and a 10 percent cut in our public expenditures — or we would have to crawl to the IMF [the International Monetary Fund] and accept the terms they impose on us."

It is not a heroic mood. The emergency confronting Britain today is quite different from the dark but uplifting days of Dunkirk in World War II. The country is living on borrowed money, and economic selfishness and fear for the future seem to have set group against group and interest against interest.

The rhetoric of the country's leaders seems to have been almost

\*Please turn to Page 6

## China's new goal: modernization

By zeal or pragmatism, modern nation is sought

By Charlotte Salkowski  
Chief editorial writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Canton, China

China seems placidly in pursuit of internal stability as it waits for the post-Mao era.

On the surface at least, the land is orderly and calm. Revolutionary convulsions have been put behind as the stress turns on increasing production and transforming China into a modern nation.

There are many uncertainties ahead — who will succeed to the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, where the burgeoning economy goes from here, whether revolutionary zeal or plain pragmatism will propel the country onward. But the face China turns toward the visitor is one of self-confidence and normalcy. Above all, it is determined to industrialize and, both in order to keep the Russians at bay and to obtain foreign technology, it seeks good relations with the West.

For another eyewitness account of China, see page 6



The dragon's teeth: People's militia in Hunan Province.

Chiao Kuan-hua in Peking and were greeted by the leaders or deputy leaders of provinces and cities.

The quantity and quality of food put before us can only be described as a gourmet's orgy.

Everywhere our reception was cordial. In Peking we first experienced that penetrating, blank stare of people in the streets who fairly fell off their bikes as they swiveled to look. But in provincial areas crowds often lined the streets, breaking into smiling smiles and clapping as we drove by.

One was always addressed as an "American friend."

\*Please turn to Page 6

## Dazed Portugal gropes for lifeline

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
The military men in charge in Portugal for the past 18 months are facing what one of them calls a crisis of authority.

By this he meant that their Revolutionary Council still has to come up with an overall and detailed blueprint for a new Portugal and get it effectively carried out. The longer the council delays, the more Portugal's economic and political situation runs down. So the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) talks boldly about resolving the crisis once and for all before the end of July.

As the moment of decision nears, the Revolutionary Council finds itself pulled and pushed from within and without.

Trying to influence it from without are:  
• The Moscow-oriented Communist Party (PCP), which is conscious of its broad lack of support in the country and is trying to exploit the MFA's tightness and refusing to let go.

• The extremists to the left of the PCP — up to half a dozen splinter groups described as Trotskyite, Maoist, Stalinist, etc. — who are defying and challenging the MFA and are prepared to resort to violence. The MFA has arrested the leader of the most active of these groups, the MRPP, and Lisbon is plastered with posters demanding his release.

• The Socialists (PS) who topped the poll (38 percent of the vote) in last April's elections for an assembly to draft a constitution and who are the most effective champions in Portugal today of some form of parliamentary democracy.

Trying to influence the Revolutionary Council from within are:

• A group usually referred to as moderates — including Foreign Minister Melo Antunes and former Governor of Mozambique Admiral

\*Please turn to Page 6

## Britain's economic problem

Britain's economic problem has been running over 10 percent unemployment, less than 4 percent compared with U.S. inflation of only 5 percent and joblessness over 9 percent.

The Labour Party government's economic spokesman, Denis Healey, is on target with his warning that wage increases must voluntarily be limited to 10 percent, or the government must impose mandatory wage and price controls.

The mere announcement of the government's wage cap demand brought welcome relief for the beleaguered pound. But the Labour Party government will have to prove it means what it says in its pledge to cut Britain's inflation rate to 10 percent by the end of next summer.

One test will come in how much time the government gives representatives of labor and management to work out a voluntary pact. Assuming an agreement is quickly reached, will the Labour government ensure it is rigidly enforced at the local contract level? If the voluntary route fails, will Prime Minister Wilson have sufficient party backing to pass statutory controls in Parliament?

Mr. Healey suggested that the 10 percent wage pact could be enforced by permitting public and private employers to increase total payrolls by only 10 percent; thus either salaries must be held down or workers laid off.

Clearly, something decisive must be done to halt Britain's self-feeding inflation. The government's proposal merits all possible support from the British people.







# Soviet Union

## Soviets say CIA skullduggery signals end of U.S. democracy

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Recently disclosed controversial activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are seen in the Soviet press as further proof that democracy in America is crime-ridden and doomed.

"The Rockefeller report on the CIA has disproved official propaganda claims about the stability of United States democracy," said a June 11 Soviet news agency dispatch from New York, saying in effect to readers back home: "We told you so."

Many Soviet citizens seem to have taken the disclosures on the CIA as confirmation of Moscow's warnings against contact with visiting capitalists — especially those from the U.S. But this is only one side of the picture.

According to a recently returned Russian-speaking traveler, the more apathetic older generation has come to the conclusion that secret police and government control of citizens is a fact of life in both East and West and simply has to be put up with. Younger Soviets, on the other hand, are said to appreciate that public opinion in the U.S. has forced the authorities to bring many hitherto hidden activities of the CIA into the open, whereas in the Soviet Union hardly anything is made known about the more sensitive activities of the Soviet security police, or KGB.

Party and government seek to portray the role of the KGB as patriotic and worthy of high praise. Many of its functions, like the border guards, are widely approved. Encouragement of the citizens to report strangers in frontier areas is considered normal.

Surveillance of mail and telephone conversations is taken for granted. This may explain why Soviet coverage of CIA activities of this kind is cursory.

Soviet audiences are said to have been

incensed, however, by the disclosure that assassination of foreign leaders was considered by the CIA. Such assassinations always have been rejected by the Soviets — not on the ground that they were immoral but because Marxists do not see politics in terms of individuals. Communist textbooks contend that individual leaders are exponents of social trends that continue whether or not a leader is removed.

Only two cases are known of political murder of foreign statesmen perpetrated or planned by the KGB. One was that of Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, who was suspected of intending to flee to the West. The other was a plan to do away with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, when his conflict with Stalin was at its height.

These were special cases, however, because Masaryk was considered a traitor to the cause — and Marshal Tito even more so.

Lenin's behest not to spill blood inside the Communist Party was observed only for a few years. The mass killings of nonparty people perpetrated by Lenin's Cheka, and later of party and nonparty persons alike by Stalin's GPU, forerunners of the KGB, have no precedent in modern history.

When it comes to getting rid of anti-Communists among Soviets abroad or of agents who "sought freedom," the secret police never were squeamish. Assassinations and kidnappings of this sort perpetrated by Soviet agents abroad are too numerous to enumerate. The most widely known case was the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

However, Soviet secret agents consistently refused to have anything to do with attempts on Hitler and Mussolini proposed to them by German and Italian anti-fascists. The reason for their rejection of such plots always was that Marxists spurn individual terror as a political weapon.

## Bolshoi Theater rings to Wagner

Despite cultural and political opposition to German composer audiences are responsive

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow The Swedish Royal Opera Company has made cultural history in Moscow by performing Richard Wagner's "The Ring of the Nibelung" in its entirety at the prestigious Bolshoi Theater.

This is the first performance of "The Ring" in Moscow, for that matter in all of the Soviet Union, in its entirety since 1889. Though one or two individual parts of "The Ring" have been performed here, music lovers had no opportunity to see any of it for a long time. Indeed, they say the last time "Siegfried" was performed here was in 1940, the year after the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet pact. So the staging of "The Ring" is a landmark in Soviet musical history.

At least the music, since this year's performance was the 100th anniversary of Wagner's death, was performed with the solemnity of which have not yet faded.

The prejudices against Wagner are still strong in official circles, and some have questioned the Soviet choice of selecting "The Ring" for the Moscow performances. The Swedish reply is that it was done at the instance of the late Ekaterina Furtseva, who until her passing some months ago was Minister of Culture. This also would appear to be a delicate way of opening up Wagner for the Soviet public — since the first company to perform it is a non-German one.

The prejudice against Wagner grew strongly during World War II because of the use Hitler made of Wagner's music.

The great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1961, a prominent example of Stalinist thinking, while acknowledging Wagner's musical ge-

nius, denounced that side of his art that it found "reactionary" and with "anti-people" tendencies. The new edition of the encyclopedia contains no such qualifications.

It is not only political prejudices, however, that have prevented official approval for Wagner so far. There is a long tradition of opposition to Wagner, in common with Europe, among Russian composers and writers.

Peter Tchaikovsky, Russia's national composer, for instance, wrote in 1876: "With the last chords of 'The Twilight of the Gods,' I had a feeling of liberation from captivity. It may be that the Nibelung's ring is a very great work, but there never has been anything more tedious and more dragged out than this rigmorale. . . . In the past, music was supposed to delight people, and now we are tormented and exhausted by it."

Another outstanding Russian composer of the period, Rimsky-Korsakov, wrote in 1901: "I have been reading the score of 'Siegfried.' As always, after a long interval, Wagner's music repelled me. I am outraged by his various aural aberrations, which surpass the limit of the harmonically feasible. Cacophony and nonsense are scattered in 'Siegfried' all over the score."

Above all, Leo Tolstoy, the author of "War and Peace," denounced Wagner's music because, "In accordance with his theory, he writes his own music, in connection with a still false system of uniting all the arts."

In view of this tradition and the subsequent political prejudices, the artists of the Swedish Royal Opera have found the audience surprisingly responsive and the more musical of them well familiar with the works of Wagner.

Now that the taboo against Wagner has been breached, the musical public is ardently hoping that more performances of "The Ring" will be allowed in the near future.



Brezhnev chums it up with Brandt during a visit to Bonn in 1973

## Brandt in huddle with Brezhnev

Ex-Chancellor makes surprising visit to Russia after he resigned over East German spy scandal

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow In a most unusual and precedent-breaking move, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev has been playing host in Moscow to former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Mr. Brandt, who stepped down as Chancellor last year after the arrest of one of his aides as an East German spy, is still chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party. However his visit is strictly speaking a personal one, although it has become surrounded by a lot of diplomatic trappings.

Mr. Brandt went to the airport personally to receive the former Chancellor. Also, Mr. Brandt was invited in the name of General Secretary Brezhnev.

The unusual Soviet gesture is deeply political at a personal level, but more importantly at a national level. Mr. Brezhnev feels that Mr. Brandt has proved to be the key to successful détente not only in Europe but also between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Without the agreement on the status of the two Germanys, which Mr. Brandt signed as Chancellor in 1970 during a visit to Moscow — nominally a treaty on renunciation of the use of force — there might have been no Nixon-Brezhnev meetings which paved the way to increased U.S.-Soviet détente.

Observers see the Brezhnev move as a personal gesture to Mr. Brandt to underscore the rapport established with him and also to indicate that Moscow still prefers the Brandt

type of politics in German and European foreign affairs. But it also is viewed as a personal gesture of apology for the spy episode which brought down Mr. Brandt as chancellor. The trial of the spy, Gensler Gellert, currently is under way in West Germany.

The Soviets maintain that they had no hand in the spy affair, and they were furious with the East Germans at the time. But beyond the personal gesture, the Soviets are concerned about a sense of listlessness which has begun to affect détente in Europe, despite stable progress toward a successful conclusion of the European security conference.

Simultaneously, Moscow officials feel that Soviet-West German relations are not flourishing as they should, and they want to end it.

Mr. Brandt indicated here, after a 45-minute talk with Mr. Brezhnev, that when West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Mr. Brezhnev meet at the expected European summit meeting in Helsinki winding up the security conference, misunderstandings on both sides, particularly about the status of West Berlin, will be clarified. Lately there has been a growing dispute between East and West Germany on West Berlin, despite the four-power agreement on the divided city.

Another important aspect of the Brandt-Brezhnev talks is Soviet interest in promoting Communist-Social Democratic cooperation in Europe. Because of the enormous prestige which the German Social Democrats enjoy, such cooperation would gain if the Germans backed it although the Communists do not

present a serious problem in West Germany.

## 'Stalinist' purge of Ukraine

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The purge against nationalism and intellectuals that has been sweeping the Soviet Ukraine since 1972 appears to have come to a climax. According to extracts of an underground Ukrainian periodical that have reached the West, the purge is comparable to Stalin's purge of the 1930s.

Unlike the Stalin purge, however, the current one reportedly is being conducted "in an atmosphere of strict secrecy under the guise of transfers and retirements of officials." The Stalin purge was aimed at "anti-party activities."

The Ukrainian nationalism issue at one time reached all the way to the Politburo, where former Party First Secretary Peter Y. Shelest was said to favor it. Mr. Shelest was removed from the Politburo on the eve of former President Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1972. His ouster was explained as being in line with the policy of peaceful coexistence, since Mr. Shelest had built up the reputation of a hard-liner.

After his removal from office, the clamp-down on the Ukraine began. Five provincial first secretaries were ousted in a matter of months. In all provinces, cities, and districts the secretaries in charge of ideology were removed.

However, the main victims of the purge are the intellectuals.

Last March a widely known lecturer at the University of Odessa was fired for "nationalism" and the director of the National Opera and Ballet Theater was replaced with a Russian. Five professors at Dnepropetrovsk University also got the ax. And in April the first secretary of the important Sumy Prov-

ince was ousted. The Ukrainian capital, Kiev, lost its autonomy and was placed directly under the Ukrainian Central Committee.

The Kremlin also has accused Ukrainian "nationalists" of "Maoist" orientation. In addition to the Western radio broadcasts that reach the Ukraine, Peking's powerful transmitters send anti-Soviet and anti-Russian broadcasts which are heard by many of the tens of thousands of Ukrainians living in Kazakhstan and other Asian territories.

While there has been evidence of a backlash — First Provincial Secretary V. F. Dobryk was reported to have been beaten and shot — it would be a mistake to assume that the Ukrainian masses are in a militantly anti-Soviet mood.

The people of the central and eastern Ukraine remain quiet. Last July Soviet General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev rode unmolested in an open automobile through the streets of Kiev to "thunderous" applause. And, while Moscow clearly seeks to spread the use of the Russian language, it also has bestowed on the Ukraine more modern industry than is to be found in neighboring Russian provinces.

The Ukraine, with rich mineral resources, a grain crop that accounts for about one-fifth of the Soviet total, a sugar production that is about half of the Soviet total, and its strategic location between Central Europe and Russia on the one side and the Black Sea on the other, is too important for the Kremlin to rely only on repressive measures.

Last November a leading Ukrainian dissident, Ivan M. Dzuba, who the year before had been sentenced to five years in jail and five years in exile, was prevailed upon to repent.

**THE QUICKEST WAY**  
to the  
world's news  
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®  
every week—try it and see

Please start my subscription to the weekly international edition of the Monitor:

	U.S. Dollars	British Pounds	W. German Marks	Dutch Guilders	Swiss Francs
6 mos.	12.50	6.34	31.25	33.78	31.25
1 year	25.00	10.68	62.50	67.57	62.50

☐ Check enclosed in one of above currencies  
☐ International Money Order to follow  
☐ Bank Draft enclosed (U.S. Dollars)

**THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®**  
Box 125, Astor Station, Boston, MA, U.S.A. 02123

Mr./Ms. \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs./Miss \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State/Country \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP/Post code \_\_\_\_\_

**BE A MONITOR AD-WATCHER**



## When you're in London looking for fine bone china, It has to be Chinacraft.

We have the finest selection of fine English bone china available in our seven central London showrooms. Here you will find such famous names as Doulton, Royal Crown Derby, Wedgwood, Royal Worcester, Minton, Coalport and Aynsley. You will also find fine crystal, figurines, giftware and special limited editions. All at special prices for overseas visitors. Plus our packaging and safe-delivery service.

If you are not able to visit us, we will be happy to send you our fully illustrated colour brochure together with all details of how to order by post.

**Chinacraft**

the fine china and crystal specialists.  
Head Office Dept. CSM  
499 Oxford Street,  
Marble Arch, London W1.  
Telephone: 01-499 8881  
and branches throughout central London.

# Soviet Union

## Dissident Soviet sculptor refused permission to emigrate

By Dev Murarka  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow The Soviet authorities' refusal to grant well-known sculptor Ernst Neizvestny permission to emigrate came as a surprise to Western observers here. For it coincided with preparations to wind up the 35-nation European security conference with a summit meeting and a final declaration recommending, among other things, freer movement of people between East and West.

The ground given for turning down Mr. Neizvestny's application for an exit visa was that he had not divorced his wife, who plans to remain in the Soviet Union.

He cannot appeal this decision for a year. But, the deputy director of OVIR, the Soviet visa authority, has told him that if he divorces his wife his case will be reconsidered.

At a press conference July 7, the sculptor explained that he had permission from his wife Dina and daughter to emigrate. But his wife did not want a divorce because she belongs to the Russian Orthodox Church and does not believe in divorce. It was not clear from the artist's remarks whether the couple would now divorce at the behest of the state, but Mr. Neizvestny said that his wife wanted the world to know that they were being forced to divorce.

Standing amid a disorderly collection of his sculptures in the basement of a dilapidated building, where he has moved following his expulsion from the Artists Union because of his emigration application, the artist in-



Khushchev: he respected Neizvestny dignantly proclaimed that he is being kept here "like a serf."

He said that for 20 years he has been denied creative freedom and freedom to visit places he wanted to see. He declared that compelling him to divorce to leave was "insolent" on the part of the authorities.

Contrary to what his last name implies in Russian — unknown — the stocky, energetic sculptor is an international figure, one of the most interesting, creative and controversial individuals to emerge in the post-Stalin years. All during his artistic life, he has been at odds with the authorities because his work conflicts with the aesthetic doctrines of the party and the government.

He had a verbal clash with former Soviet Communist Party chief Nikita Khrushchev at an art exhibition nearly 20 years ago, but in the end won Mr. Khrushchev's grudging respect, and was commissioned to make a bust for Mr. Khrushchev's grave at the Soviet leader's own request.

Today, when bureaucratic academism has either dulled official Soviet art or driven many artists to various forms of dissidence, the angry dialogue between Messrs. Khrushchev and Neizvestny is worth recalling.

Khrushchev: What do you think of the art produced under Stalin?

Neizvestny: I think it was rotten and the same kind of artists are still deceiving you.

Khrushchev: The methods Stalin used were wrong, but the art itself was not.

Neizvestny: I do not know how, as Marxists, we can think like that. The methods Stalin used served the cult of personality and this became the content of the art he allowed. Therefore the art was rotten, too.

We offer a complete service for all your printing requirements by letterpress or lithography

**WEST BROTHERS PRINTERS LTD**  
212 DUNSFORD ROAD LONDON SW19  
Telephone 01-947 2106-9 Telex 25694



# How U.S. benefits from China's Moscow-phobia

Mias Salkowski, the Monitor's chief editorial writer, has just completed a 24-day tour of China with a delegation of American newspaper editors.

By Charlotte Salkowski  
Chief editorial writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Harbin, China  
It is a bit disconcerting to visit the People's Republic of China and find yourself eating "chicken Kiev." But there it was amid the rice, sweet and sour pork, and other Chinese dishes — a plateful of golden-brown pressed chicken, oozing butter and trussed up with pretty paper legs.

The culinary accents are not the only things Russian in this city of northeast China, formerly known as Manchuria. For decades the Soviets were busy expanding their presence and influence here, and today Harbin is a town of yellow stucco buildings and villas so characteristic of Russian cities. At the central hotel one sleeps under blankets slipped into white linen covers Russian style, and across the street towers a granite monument to Soviet heroes who perished in World War II.

But chicken Kiev seems the last concession to the "neighbor to the north." Right next to that soaring Soviet monument stands a ramshackle structure underneath which scores of laborers are at work on an air-raid shelter, one of many built throughout China in the event of a war with the Soviet Union.

If any one foreign-policy theme dominated a 24-day visit to China by a delegation of American journalists, it was the alleged perfidy of the Russians and the need of China to remain vigilant against Soviet "social

imperialism" abroad and Soviet-style "revisionism" at home.

Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told us that China does not fear an attack by the Soviet Union but that the United States should beware of Soviet expansionism; he said America now is on the defensive. Other Chinese officials similarly warned that the Soviets are creating a "feint" in the East in order to lull and attack the West.

There is a strong note of national pride in the current anti-Sovietism. Shanghai's suave deputy leader Feng Kuo-chu put down an alleged remark by the late Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev that all the Chinese had was vegetable soup. He commented scornfully: "I have met with many friends who have gone to that country, and they tell us supplies are quite empty in their shops."

Evidences of past Soviet influence and aid are everywhere. One flies in Antonov and Ilyushin planes and occasionally spots MIGs at an airport. Soviet-built trucks rumble down the roads and Moscow-style hotels and office buildings rise in towns and cities. Russian ballet and folk steps have crept into contemporary Chinese dances.

But today the Soviets are publicly blamed for virtually every and any failure, whether of a piece of machinery or a policy — sometimes too conveniently, perhaps. At the Taching oil field, a four-hour train ride from Harbin toward the Sino-Soviet frontier, officials related how "Soviet revisionists" after 1960 stopped supplying oil to "strangle" China, how they tore up contracts, withdrew their technicians, and refused to supply promised machinery.

At a safety-equipment plant in the coal-

mining town of Fushun a young worker pointed to a gas indicator supplied by the Soviets and scoffed: "We adopted a policy of trailing behind at a snail's pace and adopted slavish ways. The Russians had better units but they gave us a worse one. Later our workers were indignant and made their own product — a better one."

The quarrel with Moscow has many facets. But seen from inside China the intense anti-Soviet propaganda seems to have a twofold goal: First, to help keep China united, independent, and self-reliant. Second, to make sure it does not become "infected" with Soviet "bourgeois" socialism that permits widening disparities in income, emergence of an elite intelligentsia set apart from the working classes, and a strong dose of material incentives and private enterprise.

Having adopted Lenin and other Western ideologies, and blended them with their own brand of Maoism, the Chinese seem determined to keep the purity of the communist faith. "Our task is to keep on the right road and not to develop China into a bourgeois country that bullies others," one fervent Communist said.

Such attitudes have filtered down to the lowest functionaries. At our first-class hotel in Peking I observed a foreigner trying to exchange 100 rubles for Chinese currency. The young clerk looked at him coldly and, after checking with a colleague, waved him off with an air of self-satisfied disdain.

Even as the Soviets are maligned, so are

Americans now accorded a place of "friendship." News of the arrival of our delegation in Harbin had been reported in the local media, and the crowds in the streets smiled, clapped, and waved wherever we went. We were greeted similarly in farm villages and towns, where even the tiniest children were encouraged by mothers to clap.

The blossoming relationship with America certainly has no ideological raison d'être. The People's Republic views its accommodation with the United States as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. A weak country, it knows that only the U.S. can thwart Soviet ambitions and maintain stability in Asia. Hence it is not surprising that the Americans are urged to keep their military presence in Asia strong, and their ties with Japan firm, not that Peking has put the Taiwan question temporarily on the back burner in order to encourage a visit by President Ford.

As it seeks to industrialize, moreover, China needs Western technology and equipment. But it does not want the West's ideas or culture. In one Chinese put it, "We'll take from you what is good for China and can help China."

Thus, in Chinese eyes, the U.S. is still an imperialist power in the world but it is not at the moment the "main contradiction." One high Chinese official told us: "Our ideologies are different. You approve your own social system and world outlook while we support Marxism-Leninism. This should not prevent us from seeking common grounds against those seeking hegemony."

## CLAYGATE ESHER

and surrounding districts

### J. Williams

High Class Family Butchers  
and Poulterers  
GAME LICENCE  
Fresh packed meat for  
HOME FREEZERS

21 The Parade

CLAYGATE, Surrey

Tel. ESHER 62901

### Station Garages (Claygate) Ltd.

CAR HIRE

Chauffeur driven anywhere

ESHER 62332-3

Works and Offices

STATION APPROACH  
CLAYGATE

Showrooms  
22 THE PARADE  
CLAYGATE

### ESHER STATIONERS

PRINTING  
DIE-STAMPING  
OFFICE EQUIPMENT

ROTRING DRAWING  
INSTRUMENTS  
ARTISTS MATERIALS

25-27 HIGH STREET

TEL. 67294

MONITOR  
advertisers appreciate YOU



Put  
some  
greenery  
into  
your  
life

GARDEN CARE  
OF CLAYGATE

19 THE PARADE  
TEL. ESHER 65472



ESHER & CLAYGATE  
Electric Installations

Complete Systems  
Installed for Lighting,  
Bells, Power,  
Heating and Telephone

100 High Street  
TEL. ESHER 64477

## Banned Afrikaans writers talk of going underground

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town  
Some of the best young writers in Afrikaans in South Africa are talking of "going underground like the Russians" after the banning within a few months of a modern Afrikaans novel, a book of poems, and an unpublished play.

Afrikaans writers previously had been almost completely untouched by censorship here. Thousands of books in English — many of them unabashedly pornographic — have been banned over the years. But it was not until the end of last year that the censors banned a book in Afrikaans (a language developed from old Dutch).

It became an immediate literary sensa-

tion. The book called "Kennis van die Aand" (Knowledge of Dusk) was by a young Afrikaans lecturer, Dr. Andre Brink, a prolific writer and pamphleteer. In it he trod dangerous sociological ground for South Africa. It was a story of love across the color line, something that is banned in real life.

The author and the publisher contested the banning order in the Supreme Court, but the order was upheld by a bench of three judges, who found the book obscene and objectionable.

Up till this year the censors' score in the courts had not been good overall. Time after time the courts set aside banning orders, particularly on magazines dealing with current affairs. But this year the censorship laws were changed to make them "more effective."

The most important change, and the one

that has caused despondency among writers generally, is that banned authors or publishers may no longer appeal to the courts for release of their publications. Instead, they may go only to a special appeal court set up within the censorship machinery itself.

Also, instead of a relatively limited number of censors, empowered to act only when the public complains about specific publications, a whole series of censorship boards has been set up. There now are 191 individual censors scattered throughout the country.

What is more, the censors are not restricted to acting only after they have received complaints about a particular publication. They are specifically empowered to track down bannable publications themselves.

The censorship law says that any publication must be banned if it "is indecent or improper or objectionable or offensive to public morals, if it is blasphemous or offensive to the religious beliefs or feelings of any population group in South Africa, or if it ridicules or is contemptuous of any population group, or if it is damaging to

relations between any of the population groups in South Africa."

Two other bans have been imposed since the banning of Dr. Brink's book. The first is on a book of poetry, illustrated by the author, Breyten Breytenbach, an Afrikaans writer who lives in voluntary exile in Paris. He is denounced by the Afrikaans establishment as a disruptive literary influence — although not even his harshest critics deny his talent — and also because he married across the color bar. His wife is a South Vietnamese. The couple cannot live in South Africa because of the mixed-marriages law.

The poet's book has actually been out of print for three years. Why should someone go out of his way to ban it now? Is the question being asked.

The second banning concerns a play called "Die Sells ou Storie" (The Same Old Story) by another young writer, Pieter Kerk Uys. It is a lively play but not offensive by contemporary standards. It was actually passed for production by the old censor board. But the author has received a telegram from the new censorship board informing him that any publication of the play as a book is banned.

## Korean opposition leader calls freedom best defense

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Seoul  
The Communist take-over of South Vietnam caused South Korea's political opposition, in the interest of national unity, to mute its criticism of President Park Chung Hee's authoritarian government. But Kim Young Sam, leader of the main opposition political party, says that his party remains steadfast in its demand for more political freedom and will not stay permanently quiet.

"The collapse of Indo-China greatly shocked people in Korea, and President Park has used this to his advantage," said Mr. Kim in an interview at the headquarters of his New Democratic Party in Seoul.

"The collapse of Indo-China made people here conscious of a good deal of danger to our national security," he said. "As a result, we have engaged in less criticism, but we remain unchanged on our aim of obtaining the restoration of democracy . . . and more freedom."

Speaking of the immediate future, Mr. Kim said, "I want to remain silent for a certain period until this typhoon of feeling over the

collapse of Indo-China has passed. I think that in Korea a Communist regime exists in the North, there is a possibility of invasion by the North Koreans," the political party leader said.

But he added, "I firmly believe the Soviet Union and China will not support the North Koreans in attacking the South."

"We have 800,000 Korean troops and the presence of 42,000 American troops in the South, and 35 million people who are strongly armed with anticommunism," Mr. Kim said. "With all these things put together, we are confident that we can defend ourselves."

But unlike President Park, who argues that more political freedom would only make for instability and benefit the North, Mr. Kim contends that it would help the South Koreans defend themselves in a more effective way.



Kim Young Sam

"The government should stop oppressing the people and should let them support the government voluntarily, with their own minds and hearts, and should let the people devote their lives to the cause of the nation of their own will."

Mr. Kim pointed to the example of South Vietnam. He said that while there were obviously great differences between South Korea and South Vietnam, it was lack of support from the people of South Vietnam that was decisive in bringing down the Thieu government.

"What made the Saigon government fall, I think, is that President Thieu was in power too long, oppressed religious groups, and had a government that was too corrupt," said Mr. Kim. "All these things resulted in the absence of overwhelming support from the Vietnamese people."

"Another thing is that, unlike the Korean people, the Vietnamese people were not armed with strong anticommunism," he said.

CLAYGATE ESHER

and surrounding districts

You will find it under (or rather at)

THE GOOSEBERRY BUSH

Esher's new specialist shop for

MATERNITY & CHILDREN'S WEAR

(from 0 to 8 years of age)

87, HIGH ST. ESHER

Telephone: ESHER 67698

EVEREST SHOES

"FOR GOOD SHOES, WELL FITTED"

STOCKISTS OF

LEADING MANUFACTURERS

SHOES FOR

MEN • WOMEN • CHILDREN

33, THE PARADE ESHER 62528 CLAYGATE SURREY

Jeannes of esher

ladies wear

lingerie, separates, dresses, etc.

call in for good value and helpful service.

18, High Street, Esher, Surrey

Tel. Esher 64082

Hats for all seasons — a wonderful range of the latest English and Continental styles. And a host of accessories too. Handbags, scarves and jewellery.

Lee's Hats and Things

87 High St., Esher

Tel. 65303

MEDHURST & CO.

REGISTERED BUILDERS DECORATORS PLUMBING HEATING COMPLETE

BUILDING SERVICE PLANS PREPARED

ESHER 62872

36 Waynflete Tower Avenue

The Great Escape begins at

Alec Bristow Travel

2, The Centre WATTON

34-36 Guildford St. CHERTSEY

2 Albion House WOKING

64 High St. ESHER

READ & RESPOND TO MONITOR ADS

LA Interiors

Lambourne Angell Ltd.

COMPLETE INTERIOR DECORATION SERVICE

54 High Street, Cobham, Surrey

COBHAM 4767

G.E. Snell & Son Ltd.

Builders Decorators Contractors

Joinery, Repairs

16 Tolworth Park Rd. Surbiton Surrey

61,399,3233

63 Arragon Rd. Twickenham Middlesex

01,891,1166-8

GRIFFIN'S Garage (Weybridge) Ltd.

170 Outlands Drive, Weybridge, Surrey

NEW VAUXHALL CARS

BEDFORD VANS

Export, Home Delivery arranged

Self Drive Hire

Large Selection of Used Vehicles



# Middle East

## Talking to Sadat in his summer villa

By Charles W. Yost  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Alexandria, Egypt  
It is clear from a conversation with President Sadat of Egypt that he is relying almost entirely on the United States to bring about first an easing and later a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

To a lesser extent, he relies on Washington to help relieve Egypt's almost intolerable economic burdens.

If the United States should be unable or unwilling to meet these expectations, it is hard to see how President Sadat, given the political climate in Egypt and in the Arab world, could long continue his moderate conciliatory course.

President Sadat, and his new Vice-President, Husni Mubarak, received me at the President's summer villa at Borg al Arab, west of Alexandria.

Since the October, 1973, war, the Arabs have regained confidence in themselves and the rest of the world has gained respect for them, Mr. Sadat said. The Egyptian leader's demeanor reflected his own growth in poise, assurance, and urbanity since I saw him three years ago.

He was, no doubt wisely, reserved about predicting the outcome of current negotiations, though adding that he is always hopeful.

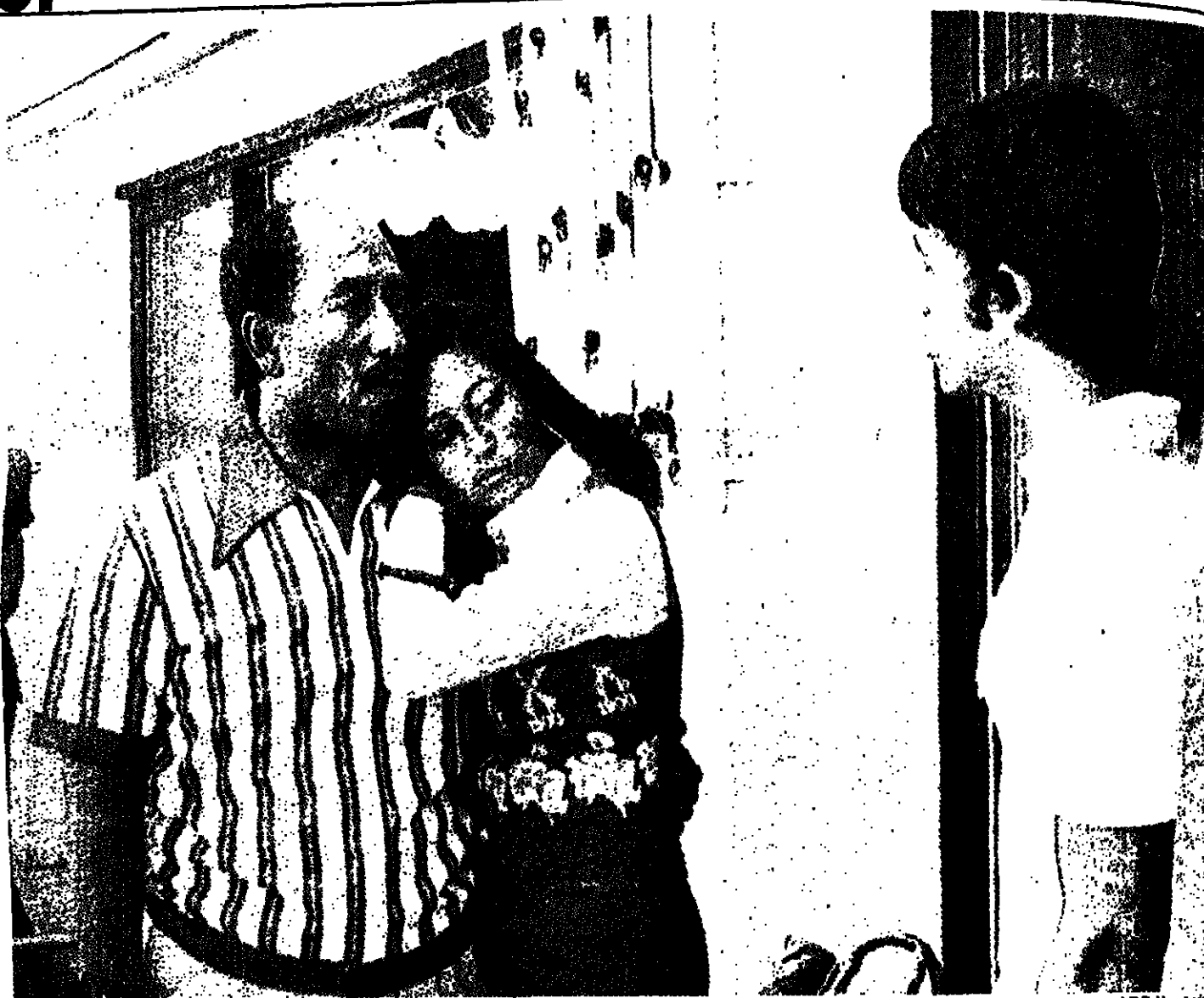
It was a pity, President Sadat remarked, that the momentum toward accommodation, which had at last taken off after the October war, had been interrupted by Watergate.

Otherwise, he believed, there would have been another disengagement last autumn. Nevertheless, he had made what he considered a far-reaching offer which Israel had unfortunately rejected. Now he is trying again.

He said that he had been much impressed by the straightforwardness and honesty of President Ford during their meeting at Salzburg.

Mr. Sadat acknowledged that a complication at the Geneva peace conference when it reopens will be representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.). The Arabs had not yet agreed just how it is to be managed, he said. But a way will be found, he asserted. If the United States could establish contact with the P.L.O., it would reinforce moderate elements among them and help to bring them constructively into the negotiation.

I pointed out that the heart of the problem



President Sadat puts a fatherly arm around his daughter, Nana, as he chats with his son Gamal

Copyright by Robert Azzi, Magnum/ABC News via UPI

for the Israelis is that they be convinced that their security is firmly and durably assured. President Sadat replied that he had for four years offered to make a peace agreement with Israel and that other Arabs now also are prepared to do so. Guarantees are up to the great powers, though the Arabs, who started only the last of the four wars, have more need of guarantees than does Israel, he added.

Asked about Egypt's economic situation, President Sadat replied that the most pressing problem is the burden of short-term debt which is absorbing most of the country's foreign exchange. This must be converted into long-term loans for which he needs one-half billion Egyptian pounds, half from the Arab oil states and half from the United States and Europe.

The reopened canal is beginning to generate revenue. Oil exports are expected from the Suez wells. Intensive exploration is under way in the Western Desert and he is very hopeful of further substantial discoveries there.

President Sadat of Egypt says he is certain

that President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger see the grave danger of allowing another stalemate to develop in the Middle East.

Both of them, he added in a conversation here, strongly desire another Sinai disengagement along the lines that have been discussed.

One of the frequent visitors to his cool summer villa at Borg El Arab is U. S. Ambassador Herman Eells.

Given the American interest, President Sadat said, he was at a loss to understand the present deadlock.

Israel, he pointed out, is wholly dependent on the United States, militarily and economically. How then could it be allowed to block an agreement that the American President and Secretary of State believe to be in the American interest and in the interest of peace in the area?

He understood the U.S.-Israel relationship. He believed, however, that the United States must bring its great influence more effectively to bear on Israel if there were to be any real movement toward a settlement.

President Sadat feared that Israel, in the mistaken belief that time works in its favor, merely trying to gain time until the U.S. presidential-election campaign begins. Calculated leaks about the course of the negotiation are part of the game.

As a matter of fact he has offered, in exchange for a meaningful Israeli withdrawal in Sinai, to accept two annual extensions of the United Nations force there. Whether or not this withdrawal takes place, he says, there must be a resumption of the Geneva conference very shortly.

If it does take place, however, the atmosphere will be greatly improved. The conference will have two years in which to accomplish its difficult task.

Mr. Yost was a member of the U.S. foreign service for 40 years and served, among other posts, as ambassador to Syria, to Morocco, and at the United Nations.

© 1975 Charles W. Yost

From page 1

## ★ China seeks new nation

I asked one dedicated Communist what was meant by "friend." She explained that this was anyone who wanted to "understand China and had good will for it." While one was buoyed by the appellation, it was sobering to think that the mass public approbation of Americans could perhaps be abruptly shifted overnight if the government in Peking decided America was no longer "a friendly country."

Our broad itinerary, including the visit to Tachung, was largely at our own request. But our hosts made the specific selections, and our experience was therefore a highly controlled one. Commune villages and factories were swept clean before our arrival.

There was virtually no chance for a spontaneous conversation. The language barrier alone was prohibitive. But even when occasion arose to chat with someone it was only moments before a crowd gathered, ruling out any "private" conversation.

All visits were highly structured and took on a ritualistic pattern. After the head of our delegation was greeted by local officials, we would be ushered into a waiting room furnished with pots of tea, and given a briefing.

Such briefings had a predictable pattern. The official would recite a few statistics about the progress made since China's "liberalization," or since the Cultural Revolution, credit the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, and wind up with a modest comment about the "shortcomings" that still needed to be overcome.

This is not to suggest that officials did not speak frankly and sincerely or that one did not come away with some valid observations. I think we did. But the fact remains that one could not get below the orchestrated surface. We could not even obtain regional newspapers, which, we were told, were "for the local people."

Among the kaleidoscope of impressions formed after this extraordinary journey, the inescapable dominant one is that China has wrenched itself free of the destitution and humiliation of the past. The back of feudalism has been broken and a unified nation is lifting itself out of backwardness with self-assurance and purposefulness.

The vast majority of China's some 900 million people still lives at the level of austere poverty, and the country has a long way to go to become modern by Western standards. But, as so many travelers report, the people are well fed, and adequately, if drably, clad.

Most significantly for China's future, the peasants and workers — those on the lowest scale of degradation in old China — exude dignity and poise. They are motivated, conscious of their gains, and, as far as one could tell, contented.

Balancing this positive picture for the Westerner is the appalling constriction of a thoroughly controlled society in which the individual must subordinate his aspirations and desires to those of the collective. There is no doubt that Chairman Mao's leadership and teachings have united and galvanized the Chinese into action and altered many feudal habits and ideas. That has greatly benefited the country.

But the Maoist ideology, which permeates every facet of life from cradle on, also is stifling creative thinking. It has evolved an almost unbearable monotony and dullness of culture, from dress to dance. It also has isolated the Chinese people from that kind of free association with outsiders that makes for true understanding and friendship.

Among the questions difficult to answer is the extent to which the Chinese are "indoctrinated" and to what extent they conform because nonconformity brings social disapprobation and closes the route to advancement. Or what is done with real dissenters. Surprisingly, I never felt that heavy sense of physical control that is so marked in the Soviet Union. The Chinese effort to "re-educate" the resistant individual through group discussion seems to work.

I was struck, too, by the pragmatism of the Chinese. To be sure, they are hooked on Mao Tse-tung Thought. But, although they whip out the "instructions" of Chairman Mao at least provocation, I sometimes had the feeling they end up doing what is practical and workable in Chinese conditions and then cast their actions in the vestments of ideological jargon.

From page 1

## ★ Britain: economic fact

compulsion which will save the unions' faces by enabling them to plead force majeure. After all, the unions have always put the preservation of jobs as their top priority. And there will be various sops to socialist orthodoxy like apparent undertakings not to cut social spending schemes (which already have been cut, or will be slowed down or diluted).

But besides the slow erosion of political fantasy by economic fact, something else has occurred to sober the Labour movement. This was the recent by-election in the near-London constituency of Woolwich West, taken from Labour by the Conservative candidate. The Tory, who had lost by an 8 percent margin in October, now led by one of 7 percent; a swing which, if transferred to a General Election throughout the country would give the Tories a huge lead in the Commons.

The Woolwich result seems to have been partly the result of vigorous personal campaigning by the new Tory chief, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher (who risked, but enhanced, her reputation thereby), partly the result of widespread anger over inflation, and partly the result of mass defections from the Liberal party, which is down in its usual dumps once more.

None of this is good news for Mr. Wilson on the face of it. Labour how has an absolute majority of zero over all other parties, and has to depend upon the goodwill of assorted nationalists and independents for its survival in office.

At first sight this might seem a good moment for Mrs. Thatcher to start maneuvering to overthrow the government. There are several reasons why she does not, and why Mr. Wilson need not be too downcast after all. There is something of a policy struggle going on among the Tories over how dogmatically Free Enterprise their party should be. Tories are not yet convinced that the country wants yet another election so soon: three within two years might cause political indigestion. And by-election results notoriously inflate the unpopularity of the government.

Finally, many Tories feel that Labour should be allowed enough rope to hang itself. Given reasonable bad luck, it might hang itself for a long time to come.

Mr. Wilson, consummate politician that he is, knows all this perfectly well and must have pointed it out to his followers. The economic situation and Woolwich have provided him with a not-unwelcome pair of whips with which to beat all but the most fanatical socialists back into their kennels. The left-wing Tribune group may go snarling and with their tails between their legs, and a few may even bite the hand that whips them.

But the fact is, their patrons in the cabinet (Mr. Foot, Mr. Benn, Mrs. Castle) have given them no lead. Few Tribunes really want to incur the odium of bringing down their government. Nor, in their heart of hearts, do the unions. To outsiders the achievement may look fairly shabby, but to observers inside British politics it is beginning to look as if Wilson has triumphed again.

From page 1

## ★ British miners' pay

played out. Prime Minister Harold Wilson did not get more than polite applause Monday when he told the miners that he was asking, "not a year for self, but a year for Britain." No more did militant leftists, like Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill, who shouted out to his fellow delegates, "No one can tell me that a miner isn't worth a week in 1975."

Yet at last, this week, long-awaited national decisions are being hammered out, not in the atmosphere of confrontation and social strife that many had feared, but in a sober toning down of pay claims and a realization by management and trade unionists alike that there have to be sacrifices and that these sacrifices must be seen to be fair.

It is almost certain that the government will ask for some kind of statutory authority to make sure wages will not exceed the 10 percent increase the Chancellor has allowed for.

The voluntary agreement shaping up between the trade unions and management will have behind it the constraint of legal sanctions. It is less clear what specific cuts in its own expenditures the government will propose, and the opposition Conservatives keep repeating that without substantial sacrifices here, the whole anti-inflation program will be ineffective.

What happened at the miners' conference Tuesday is symptomatic of the changing mood of Britain's working people as reflected by their union delegates.

Mr. Scargill's militant Yorkshire delegation had stubbornly insisted on a resolution calling for £100 a week for coal-face workers — miners who actually cut coal underground — and proportionate increases for others. (Coal-face workers now receive £61 a week.)

The union's national executive, on which Mr. Scargill sits, tried time and again to obtain a compromise. The Yorkshiremen remained adamant and at one stage they seemed to be winning a narrow majority of the 287 delegates attending the conference. President Joe Gornley and Prime Minister Wilson made their respective public appeals Monday without visibly budging the Scargill line.

Finally Mr. Scargill agreed to "seek" not demand, 100. The fiery Yorkshire leader himself got up in plenary session to propose the amended resolution.

From page 1

## ★ Dazed Portugal gropes for lifeline

Vitor Crespo — who lean in the direction of letting political parties continue to operate in Portugal.

• Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, an anti-party man, whose influence is much strengthened by his being in command of COPCON, the interservice organization responsible for the internal security of Portugal.

• Navy Capt. Remiro Correia who — like Gen. Carvalho — has a constituency of his own which enhances his clout within the council. This constituency is the Army's Fifth Division, charged with the "cultural dynamization" of the Portuguese masses. The program is in some ways like the "hearts and minds" exercises of the Vietnam war. The propaganda put out by Captain Correia's Fifth Division uses Marxist jargon and is generally anti-American.

One of the Revolutionary Council's rules is that its decisions shall be unanimous or by consensus. This results in marathon sessions — sometimes all through the night. Recently a Lisbon periodical asked: "Are the men who get no sleep sleep-walkers?" The implication of the question, of course, is that the MFA may be in charge but is hardly giving the country effective government.

The marathon council meetings often produce long, complex, and sometimes ambiguous documents — which is perhaps not surprising when one recalls the conflicting views within the council that have to be reconciled.

The one thing that holds the council together is the common perception of its members that the MFA has a right to run Portugal since the military succeeded — where political parties had failed over half a century — in putting to an end right-wing authoritarianism and launching (as the MFA sees it) a reforming, liberating revolution.

Until last April's election there was no legitimate challenge to the MFA's unique position. But the 38 percent vote for the Socialists has (in Socialist eyes) given their party a parallel legitimacy which entitles it to a say and to its voice being heard. Hence the Socialist outrage at the closing down of their newspaper, Republica, in May through the arbitrary action of an extreme leftist-led "workers' committee. (The Roman Catholic Church's Radio Renascenca has been similarly silenced.)

Equivocal statements from the MFA have led to hopes that both Republica and Radio Renascenca would be returned to their original operators, but this has not happened. The equivocations stem from the conflicting pulling and pushing within and around the Revolutionary Council — and to the support that the workers' committees in possession of the newspaper and the radio station have gotten from General Carvalho and COPCON.

These particular workers' committees — while satisfying the Communists of the PCP by silencing a Socialist newspaper — are in fact anathema to the PCP since they are run by heretical Communists. One Socialist member of the Constituent Assembly said he suspected that General Carvalho was supporting the workers' committees not out of ideological commitment to them but because it might be a way to put some distance between the MFA and the PCP.

As for the reopening of Republica under its Socialist editorship in its current premises, many people here do not expect that to happen. The best that the Socialists seem to expect is a resumption of publication in new premises where the presses will be manned by loyal Socialists and not extreme left-wing anti-Socialists of any allegiance.

In the long run, the Socialists hope that the MFA will come to see that none of their tentative blueprints will work in Portugal and that there will be no option left but some form of parliamentary democracy. But some observers here wonder whether the Socialists may not be underestimating the skill and determination of those (not in the MFA) who are committed to anything but parliamentary democracy.

## Libya's President Qaddafi fuels the fires of revolution

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
One measure of the likelihood of a settlement between Israel and the Arabs is the intensity of the efforts made by President Qaddafi of Libya to bring about a settlement. In the light of the Libyan President, who is a Muslim fundamentalist, to compromise and cooperate with more or less atheistic Marxists.

The compromise is at the root of President Qaddafi's support of Palestinian Fedayeen and Lebanese Muslim leftists in Lebanon in persistent skirmishing with right-wing Christians in Lebanon.

The analysis point out that President Qaddafi was host in mid-June to the leaders of the Palestinian "rejectionist" movement, meaning that they reject settlement with Israel. These were George Habbash, a pragmatic Marxist, and Nayef Hawatmeh, a Marxist-Leninist who considers himself to the left of the Communists.

Through them, it is assumed, funds are being channeled liberally to Palestinians and Lebanese leftists who share their views to prevent Lebanon's internal strife from quieting down (as it has always done before) in spite of the combined efforts of President Sadat of Egypt and President Assad of Syria. Lebanon is a weak link in the chain of relatively moderate Arab nations on Israel's borders; the extremists would like to bring it down. Emergence of a radical government in Beirut prepared to give the Palestinian Fedayeen free rein might precipitate Israeli intervention. That would put an end to the whole quest for settlement.

President Qaddafi remains the odd man out of the Arab world who would be dismissed were it not for his wealth. His passionate religiosity and aspirations to serve as leader of the Arab world combine with the ability he has demonstrated to make pragmatic compromises with revolutionaries of the political Left.

How effective he can be has been demonstrated in the years since he overthrew King Idriss by success in persuading half-a-dozen young African republics to turn out Israel

technical-aid missions in return for Libyan money.

Lately the money has been flowing into President Qaddafi's coffers less freely. Production of his highly desirable low-sulfur oil is down from 3 million barrels a day; he is said to have depleted the reserves of \$4 billion by \$1 billion.

But President Qaddafi still has plenty of money to fuel the fires of revolution.

In addition to this conflict his money is reported to be flowing not only in Lebanon but in the Dhofer rebellion against the Sultan of Oman, in the Eritrean rebellion against Ethiopia, in support of the leftist regime of Somalia, and even in the faraway rebellion of Muslim tribesmen against the government of President Marcos in the Philippines.

Libyan activity in the Mideast has been on the rise ever since the breakdown of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in March. Libyan castigation of President Sadat and the United States rose to fever pitch during the meetings between President Ford and President Sadat and later Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

In the midst of this campaign in May, Premier Alexei N. Kosygin of the Soviet Union arrived in Tripoli and negotiated an arms deal the proportions of which are mysterious but which unquestionably enhances President Qaddafi's effectiveness as revolutionary leader. It also put the seal on his willingness to cooperate with Marxists although the Palestinian extremists have nothing to do with Moscow, which prefers the more moderate Palestine Liberation Organization and Al-Fatah headed by Yasser Arafat.

Whatever the amount of arms, the deal follows up an agreement between Libya and the Soviet Union in 1974 under which some Libyans are learning to fly in the Soviet Union and some Soviet technicians are in Libya. It makes President Qaddafi more of a threat than ever.

Libyan Prime Minister Abdel Salam Jalloud in mid-June undertook a journey to Damascus, Syria, Baghdad, Iraq, and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. It is assumed, in search of support. But nothing that has come out of these capitals since then suggests that he succeeded.

SUPERIOR  
MARKER  
CO.

QUALITY  
TRANSPARENT  
BOOK MARKERS  
CRAYONS • ERASERS  
DELUXE BOOK COVERS

P.O. BOX 2674  
OAKLAND, CALIF.  
94614

MONITOR  
advertisers  
appreciate  
YOU

Barrell-Lea

Chocolate Shops

Quality Chocolates  
delivered fresh daily

Everybody loves a Barrell Lea Shop

Seventy shops throughout  
Australia

SYDNEY • BRISBANE • MELBOURNE • ADELAIDE





General Pinochet: adamant

## Chilean junta boss rules out elections

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Chilean Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, president of the country's ruling military junta, has scotched any expectation of an early return to civilian rule.

In talks with provincial authorities in the southern city of Concepcion, General Pinochet said he has no intention of turning the government over to civilians or of setting up a mixed civilian-armed forces government.

"I am going to die one day," he told his listeners, "and the person who succeeds me will also die. But there will be no elections."

He echoed the same theme in a speech to noncommissioned officers at a suburban Santiago military academy, saying: "There will be no elections."

He added that a mixed civilian-armed forces government "would be just as rotten" as Chile's former civilian governments.

In addition, General Pinochet denied entry over the weekend to a five-member working group of the UN Commission on Human Rights. The group had expected to visit Chile to investigate claims of torture and illegal imprisonment as have other human rights organizations in the past.

The general's views come as top officers of the junta have warned political parties in Chile they will be completely shut down if

they violate military bans on political activity.

This warning seems directed at the centrist Christian Democratic Party, the nation's single largest political group.

The Christian Democrats have been particularly unhappy with the military's ban on political activity. Moreover, it is not lost on the Christian Democrats that the military has permitted formation of a movement to support the military government.

This movement, called the Movimiento de Unidad Nacional, includes many people who were prominent in both the rightist National Party and the extreme rightist Patria y Libertad organization that operated during the final months of the government of President Salvador Allende Gossens in 1973 and 1974.

It is thought in some quarters that the military has decided to set itself up as the single political force in the nation. The junta, for example, is making much at the moment of a recent Gallup poll in which a substantial majority of Chileans expressed satisfaction with the Pinochet government.

"Given the hazards of speaking out in the present climate in Chile," a leading Christian Democrat recently said, however, "it is no wonder the poll leaned toward the government."

There is incipient speculation both in Santiago and in Washington that the military may be determined to put an end to all

political parties in the near future.

Immediately after seizing power in September, 1973, the military leaders outlawed the Communist, Socialist, and other parties and groups that had supported the constitutional Allende government.

They also declared that other political parties, including the Christian Democratic and National Parties, were "in recess." They further banned all political gatherings, organizing, financial campaigns, and the like.

The Christian Democrats, as the largest party in Chile, have been hardest hit by the ban. They also appear to be the target of current statements by government leaders.

Believing that the Christian Democrats have been holding secret meetings, and observing that Eduardo Frei Montalva, the former president who is nominal head of the party, recently criticized the military junta's economic policies, General Pinochet said:

"The government knows perfectly well when these people meet together. They should realize, however, that everything will be finished if they insist on doing this, and political parties will disappear."

But the extreme right has apparently gotten around all these troubles — with the approval of the military.

Organizers of the Movimiento de Unidad Nacional say it is not a political movement, a statement that to many observers both in Santiago and in Washington is a mockery.

## Portuguese flee to Brazil

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Thousands of Portuguese refugees, fleeing the political and economic change under way in their homeland, are arriving in Brazil in such numbers that they are beginning to cause problems for the Brazilian Government.

Many of the new arrivals are taken into the homes of relatives, but a growing number — running into the thousands — have nowhere to go, and calls for the establishment of refugee centers are being heard.

"It is time that we stop ignoring this new element in our midst," the Rio de Janeiro newspaper Correio da Manhã said. "The flow of refugees is so great that serious social and economic problems could result."

Carlos Lacerda, the former governor of Guanabara State, which embraces Rio de Janeiro, said recently that "Brazil has not prepared anything to greet" the refugees. "It is just as if there was nothing being done."

Many of the new arrivals are living in shanty dwellings in Rio, having fled without much money. Others who brought out some savings are finding opportunities for investment and living more adequately.

The actual number of new arrivals is not certain. Government statistics are slow in being tabulated. Officially, the Brazilian Foreign Ministry reported last month a 25 percent increase in the normal immigration total from Portugal. That would mean about 2,500 people this year.

But numerous other sources reject this figure, suggesting it is much higher and that it probably totals 40,000 or more, many of whom do not register.

Whatever the total, it is clear that Portuguese migration to Brazil has gone up noticeably since April, 1974, when an armed coup began the process of change in Portugal that has prompted many Portuguese to leave their homeland.

Brazil was founded by the Portuguese and has long maintained close ties with the motherland. The Brazilian airline VARIG and the Portuguese airline TAP, have numerous flights between the two countries and there is a good deal of visiting back and forth.

Moreover, Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world.

The most prominent among the refugees is former Premier Marcelo Caetano, who is teaching comparative law at Rio's Gama Filho University in exchange for an apartment, a chauffeured car, and \$2,000 monthly.

The Portuguese are officially forbidden from engaging in political activity, but this has apparently not stopped the former leaders of Portugal. Many of them regularly meet to discuss developments in their homeland and, according to some observers, are discussing ways to unseat the present military leaders in Lisbon.

In addition to Mr. Caetano, there are numerous former legislators, government officials, businessmen, and lawyers living in Rio. Among them are former President Americo Thomaz; Rui Patricio, former minister of foreign affairs; Veiga Macedo and Galvao Telles, former ministers of education; and Jose Dias Rosas, former minister of economy. There are businessmen who had various activities in Brazil before they fled Portugal, and today they are concentrating their efforts on their Brazilian investments.

## 'Unknown' OAS seeks a new image

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Alejandro Orfila, incoming secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS), thinks the hemisphere body is "widely misunderstood" in Latin America and "totally unknown" in the United States.

And he intends to do what he can to correct this situation in the new post he assumed July 1.

In an interview at the Argentine Embassy here, where he has served as Argentine ambassador to the United States for the past two years, Mr. Orfila said he wants to make the OAS "a symbol of something that affects the lives" of people in both parts of the hemisphere.

Forward this end, he said, he hopes that the OAS becomes "a symbol of a union of the Americas that is useful to both Joe Doe of Main Street and Jose Gonzalez of Calle Principal."

Mr. Orfila admits there are major differences between Latin America and the United States. "But if we understand our differences," he says, "implying that the OAS can help in this process, then we can come together better."

"At no other time in history has Latin America needed the United States so much and the United States needed Latin America so much."

Mr. Orfila plans to visit all the nations of the hemisphere in his first year in office — and hopes to keep up the practice during each of the five years he serves in his new post.

**Neuchâtel**  
SWITZERLAND

**Pour vos excursions**  
EN PETIT CAR POUR FAMILLES OU PETITS GROUPES

Prix sur demande  
Tél. (038) 451161

**Mr. C. Favre,**  
ROCHEFORT NEUCHÂTEL

**Confiserie Pâtisserie**  
**PERRIRAZ**  
TEA-ROOM PIES PASTRY CANDIES

**Specialty Chocolates**

Rue de l'Hôpital 7 Tél. 25.12.84

**Electricians**  
**ELECTRICIANS**

Rue de l'Hôpital 9

**Mezames! Saluez la mode**  
**Belette**  
Vos robes préférées qui habillent la femme élégante

**ALPINTY**  
TOUTES TAILLES

Rue de l'Hôpital 9 Neuchâtel Tél. 25.12.84

**SUITCASES HANDBAGS UMBRELLAS**  
Rue du Bassin 6  
Tél. 25.16.88

**Neuchâtel**  
SWITZERLAND

**SCHILD**  
Mode Masculine

St. Honoré 9  
Neuchâtel  
Tél. 038-24.17 25

**Vitrierie Miroiterie**  
**M. KAUFMANN**

Chaux-de-Fonds 14 Tél. 25.22.77  
(glazing)

**Hôtel City**  
son confort... ses petits plats sa délicieuse cuisine chinoise

Av. du 1er mars  
Tél. 25.54.12

**INSTITUT de BEAUTÉ**  
ESTHETICIENNE diplômée

**EDWIK HANESCHKA**  
Rue du Concert 4 (Entresol)  
Tél. 25.19.51  
(BEAUTY PARLOUR)

**Wodey-Suchard**  
depuis 1825

Confiserie-Salon de thé  
Spécialiste en chocolats fins

**HASSLER**  
RUE ST-HONORÉ A2  
TEL: (038) 25 21 21

**Confiserie Tea Room**  
**P. HESS**

Notre grande spécialité la qualité

2, Rue de la Treille

**Max Poyet**  
CHARBONS & MAZOUT

5 Pl. Pontarlier, Tél. 25 59 09  
(COAL)

**Coiffures pour Dames**  
**Jacques Rohner**

Centre-Ville Temple-Neuf 4  
Tél: 25 59 28  
1<sup>er</sup> Floor  
Permanent Vending

**MAISON F. BOUDRY & FILS**  
Peaux Maîtres appareilleur dipl.

Installations sanitaires modernes  
Chauffage Chauffage

Atelier & Bureau Gichet 1-3

**JAEGER-LECOULTRE**  
**Neuchâtel**  
NEUCHÂTEL - 7, PLACE D'URY

**ELECTRONA**  
Le spécialiste en batteries d'accumulateurs conçues pour centres de calcul électroniques, alimentation en courant de secours, traction électrique et démarrage.

Electrona S.A.  
fabrication d'accumulateurs  
CH-2017 Boudry/NE  
Tél. 038-42 15 15  
Téléc 35 388 ACCU CH

**Serving Your Complete Banking Needs Here and Abroad**

**SWISS BANK CORPORATION**  
Société de Banque Suisse  
à Fribourg de l'Hôpital  
of Place A.M. Piguet, near Harbor  
Tél. 26 82 01

**SWISS BANK CORPORATION**  
Société de Banque Suisse  
à Fribourg de l'Hôpital  
of Place A.M. Piguet, near Harbor  
Tél. 26 82 01

**CREDIT FONCIER NEUCHÂTELOIS**

## Brazil clinches nuclear deal

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Brazil and West Germany are going ahead with their multibillion dollar nuclear technology agreement despite strenuous objections and mounting concern in the United States and throughout Latin America.

Although Brazil has pledged not to use the pact as a springboard to build atomic bombs or other nuclear devices, signing of the agreement late last week came as Brazilian sources confirmed discovery of vast new uranium reserves in Brazil's Mato Grosso rain forest.

Announcement of the uranium finds is expected to trigger a whole new round of objections to the Brazilian deal as various Latin American nations raise questions about Brazil's growing economic and political muscle and the use to which it will put the eight huge atomic power reactors.

In Buenos Aires, the Argentine capital where much of local attention is riveted on the nation's sagging economic fortunes, there

were calls over the weekend for action to counter the Brazilian-West German deal.

Under terms of the agreement, the West Germans will supply Brazil with a complete fuel cycle system — generally believed to be the first such sale of a complete system to a nonnuclear power. It will give Brazil the most sophisticated nuclear reactor system in Latin America.

This fact is not lost on the Argentines who have long competed for hemisphere hegemony with the Brazilians.

Conversion of so sophisticated a system to the construction of nuclear weapons is relatively easy — and it is this possibility that disturbs the Argentines. It also worries Washington.

This concern was spelled out recently by Dr. Fred C. Ikle, the director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He said it had nothing to do with commercial interests, although the nearly \$5 billion cost of the Brazilian project will certainly boost West Germany's foreign-exchange earnings when they are sagging from downward turns in other exports.

## Panama: UN clout for canal?

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Panama is expected to win a seat on the United Nations Security Council later this year — and the result will be increased pressure on the United States for a new Panama Canal treaty.

The UN seat becomes vacant at the time of the next regular UN General Assembly session opening in September and had been expected to go to Argentina.

But Argentina quietly withdrew its candidacy last week and that paved the way for Panama's unopposed candidacy for the Latin American seat.

Behind the Argentine withdrawal is a good deal of diplomatic maneuvering among Latin American nations in recent months.

Panama desperately wanted the seat and let the rest of Latin America know. It did not have too much leverage, however, for it has been a council member recently and the non-permanent council seats are supposed to rotate among nations within regional areas.

But Panama obtained diplomatic leverage in May when the Organization of American States (OAS) met in Washington for its annual general assembly session and named Argentina's Alejandro Orfila as secretary-general.

A number of Latin American nations raise questions about Argentina holding down both the five-year secretary-generalship of the OAS and a two-year non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

There have been no other candidates for the UN post and thus the withdrawal of Argentina opens the way for Panama to win the seat which it covets.

Some other Latin American nations might still try to contest the Panamanian candidacy, but given Panama's head start, and Latin America's general support of Panama in its long dispute with the United States over the Panama Canal, this is considered unlikely.

Argentina will ask for, and probably receive, Panamanian support in its bid for the British-held Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic — as a tit-for-tat arrangement in which Argentina will lend its support to Panama in the canal dispute.







# United States

## \$2 billion needed now to save American cities, mayors say

By Robert P. Hey  
and Brad Kriegerbocker  
Staff correspondents of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Congress returned from its 10-day vacation Tuesday to find on its legislative desk an urgent plea for help from U.S. mayors. The mayors want money—\$2 billion in emergency aid for cities with more than 6 percent unemployment.

If it should pass Congress, Capitol Hill sources expect that it would be vetoed by the President—and that Congress once again would be unable to muster the needed two-thirds majority to override the veto.

The Ford administration opposes such major money bills as this one on two broad grounds:

- That with a prospective budget deficit of some \$80 billion this fiscal year just begun, it is essential not to approve additional major expenditures to prevent worsening episodes of recession and inflation.

- That cities must bring their own budgets into balance rather than rely on the federal government to bail them out of fiscal crises, which merely postpones a city's ultimate financial reckoning. This is the measure the Ford administration gave to New York City Mayor Abraham Beame when he came to Washington in search of funds to stave off financial disaster for his city.

It is the specter that New York's economic difficulties ultimately may be echoed by other large American cities that gives the mayors' plea its urgency. "The seeds of New York are in every American city," warns Joseph L. Alloto, Mayor of San Francisco and president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, which met in Boston.

New York's situation aside, however, the mayors' plea is essentially the same as in years past. But the elected leaders—whose constituencies number a majority of Americans—point to the following indicators of current city problems:

- Unemployment in some metropolitan areas approaching twice the national average; property taxes that are becoming confiscatory, leading to increased housing abandonment and an emigrating middle class; City Hall finances bludgeoned by inflation and recession.

A survey of 140 local governments taken for Congress shows that a \$340 million surplus at the beginning of fiscal 1975 became a \$40 million deficit at year's end; that local governments intend to raise \$1.5 billion in new



Paley Park, New York City

New York: rich city on the brink of bankruptcy

taxes and reduced services by \$1.4 billion; and that many cities are canceling or delaying capital-improvements projects.

The same survey shows that total employment in state and local government has grown 28 percent since 1967, twice the growth rate for all other sectors of the economy. At a press conference, mayors said increased costs came primarily as a result of responding to "the needs of the 1960s," and bristled at the suggestion that fiscal mismanagement may have exacerbated the cities' financial plight.

The mayors' biggest push is behind the proposed measure that would provide up to \$2 billion in emergency assistance to state and local governments whenever the national unemployment rate is 6 percent or above.

In essence the mayors are saying their plight stems largely from the current economic recession; that the policies of the federal government caused or worsened the

recession—and that it therefore is up to Uncle Sam to provide the money that will enable the cities to cope with recession-spawned difficulties.

While no total price tag has been put on everything the mayors seek from Washington, it is estimated to be near the \$16 billion package called for when they met last January in Washington. As outlined by Mayor Alloto, this includes \$5 billion for local public works, increased general-revenue-sharing and community-development block grants with greater provision for large city needs, and a federal housing bill "much more elaborate" than the one recently signed by President Ford.

The mayors also are seeking more freedom to spend federal aid as they see fit and resolved to "aggressively oppose" any federal legislation requiring or regulating collective bargaining.

## Opposition fades to offshore drilling

By Curtis J. Sitomer  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Resolution of the controversy between major oil producers and environmentalists over U.S. offshore oil development may soon be in sight.

These are some of the signs:

- Large oil developers—such as Exxon, Arco, and Union, which operate in the Santa Barbara Channel here—are still pushing for early lease sales by the federal government and seeking permits for construction of drilling platforms and onshore processing facilities.

But they privately admit that they have abandoned plans for large-scale offshore development, which would dot the coastline with oil rigs, raise the potential of blowouts, spills, and other production mishaps, and trigger public ire.

- Strong public opposition to offshore oil development may be lessening. Some "anti-drilling" advocates are modifying their stances to "safe drilling" in the face of the nation's energy shortage and economic problems.

For example, in Santa Barbara, where a major blow-out in the Santa Barbara channel in 1969 triggered sharp public reaction against drilling and an indefinite federal and state moratorium on new oil development, voters recently approved the construction of a mammoth onshore oil and gas processing complex just north of the city.

The battle was a bitter one—with environmental groups pitted against Exxon Oil and its backers. And the vote was close—the margin of victory just 1 percent, with city residents rejecting the plan and North County voters approving it.

Oil company spokesmen hail the outcome as a definite indication that the citizens of the area, a region where the "evils" of drilling have been symbolic to ecologists across the nation for six years, are backing down on their previous hard-line "no drilling ever" stand.

However, opponents—such as the citizen-based Get Oil Out (GOO) lobby here—say the vote was too close and the issue muddled by misleading campaign propaganda by the oil companies.

## Australian minister sacked

By Brian Toohey  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

A series of revelations about abortive attempts to raise up to \$4 billion in petrodollars from the Middle East has plunged Australia's Labor government into the deepest crisis of its already troubled 2½-year reign.

The loans crisis so far has led Prime Minister Gough Whitlam into sacking Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer Jim Cairns, and threatens the career of the outspoken Minerals and Energy Minister, Rex Connor.

Many commentators in Australia are arguing that the government's handling of the loans affair is sufficiently incompetent to justify the opposition's taking the unprecedented step of using its majority in the Senate to reject the budget due in August and so precipitate an election before the end of the year.

Some analysts say that the situation not only plays right into the hands of the opposition but could well open the way to the premiership for opposition leader Malcolm Fraser.

Dr. Cairns was sacked on the grounds that he misled Parliament about a letter he gave to a friend promising a large commission on any money raised.

Mr. Whitlam also was not satisfied about the propriety of Dr. Cairns's son being employed on his staff while engaging in private business deals.

Dr. Cairns's fall from grace contrasts strongly to the reputation he had gained in his long career in the Labor Party as a leading supporter of a wide range of idealistic causes—most notably his early opposition to the Vietnam war.

The best explanation the former deputy prime minister could offer for telling Parliament that he had not written the letter offering the commission was that he could not remember signing it and that somehow it must have been slipped in with other correspondence.

But the Cairns dismissal still has left the government with a pervasive taint of amateurism, if not chicanery, in its loan-raising efforts.

The amount sought, \$4 billion, was large by any standards, yet the decision to seek it through obscure financial intermediaries was taken in an almost casual manner.

Additionally, the government simply did not have any detailed idea of what it intended to do with any petrodollars it actually managed to get its hands on.

In fact, the decision to seek the money was taken by a small group of ministers, leaving Trade Minister Frank Green, who represented Australia at an international Monetary Fund meeting in Washington earlier this year, in the dark.

# CITY SHOPPING GUIDE

## africa

### republic of south africa

#### cape province

##### CAPE TOWN

## FOSTER'S

### FOR

DINNER and TEA SETS  
CUTLERY, GLASSWARE  
SILVERPLATE and  
STAINLESS STEEL

31 Castle Street  
(Just above St. George's St.)  
CAPE TOWN

##### CAPE TOWN

## WALTER BRASH MOTORS

Specialists in  
SUN ELECTRONIC  
ENGINE TUNING  
WHEEL BALANCING  
LUBRICATION  
TYRES and BATTERIES

114 MAIN ROAD, SEA POINT  
PHONE 49.1698

##### CAPE TOWN

## PERSONAL CLEANERS

of Claremont  
for the  
finest cleaning  
in town

## SHOPPING

Is a lot easier  
when you have first  
read the advertisements  
in The Christian Science  
Monitor

## natal

### PIETERMARITZBURG

## Africana

We specialize in books dealing  
with the fauna and flora of our  
country.

## SHUTER & SHOOTER

(Pty) Ltd.

P.O. Box 108, Pietermaritzburg  
Natal South Africa

### PIETERMARITZBURG

We Are Specialists in  
BETTER  
MENSWEAR

Also Stockists of  
Fitting Footwear

## Harpers

279 Church St. Box 142  
Pietermaritzburg, So. Africa

## transvaal

### JOHANNESBURG

## Oxford Radio

Everything Musical  
&  
Electrical

Budget Classical Records  
R1.99

34 Trywhitt Avenue  
Rosebank Phone 42-5180  
JOHANNESBURG

also  
Cross Road Shopping Centre  
Randburg Phone 48-1718

### JOHANNESBURG

## NEPTUNE CLEANERS

We Call  
and Deliver

PHONE 24-6151

DERVINS  
Seton Court, Joubert St.  
off Plein St.  
H. Marshall St. (opp. Amour House)  
404 Marshall St., Jeppe

### JOHANNESBURG

## Chez Zimmerli Restaurant

PRESIDENT PLACE  
JAN SMUTS AVENUE  
ROSEBANK  
JOHANNESBURG

### JOHANNESBURG

Open Sundays & Public Holidays

FOR RESERVATIONS  
PHONE 42-4815

### australia

### new south wales

### SYDNEY

### Moeman

## B P Ourimbah

SERVICE STATION

JOHN and MARGUERITE BUDDEN  
Proprietors

Full Mechanical Services  
Lubrication Specialists

Free Pick-Up and Delivery

175 Ourimbah Road Moeman

Tel. 90-8061

### british isles

### england

### ALTRINCHAM

## J. Edwards & Son Ltd.

29 Stamford New Road,  
Altrincham

Fine Footwear

for all the family

since 1830

Telephone 928-1487

The advertisements in  
The Monitor  
contain

VALUABLE  
INFORMATION

for shoppers

## england

### BIRMINGHAM

## Frank Knight Limited

COAL, COKE, etc.  
Deliveries all districts

AUTHORIZED AGENTS  
FOR FUEL OIL

CHESTER STREET WHARF  
BIRMINGHAM 6

TELEPHONE:  
ASTON CROSS 1371-2

### BOURNEMOUTH

## SUPERTEL FOR COLOUR TV

Rent or Buy from  
THE PEOPLE WHO CARE

For Details phone 58321  
and Branches.

We also supply tape recording  
and Speech Equipment  
for Church Meetings  
Presented in this Area.

### BRISTOL

## DINGLES

Bristol's Leading  
Store for—

LADIES' and MEN'S WEAR  
CHILDREN'S

FURNISHINGS, HOUSEHOLD,  
ELECTRICAL and FOOD

QUEENS ROAD, BRISTOL (8).

### BRISTOL

## Clifton Furnishing

98c Whitelands Road  
Bristol BS8 2DJ  
Tel: Bristol (0272) 39351.

FOR THE BEST  
AND MOST MODERN IN

Carpets & Floor Coverings  
Curtains & Soft Furnishings  
Lampshades & Pendants  
Furnishing Accessories

Anywhere within 50 miles radius  
MAKING & FITTING FACILITIES

### BRISTOL

THINK FIRST  
of Monitor Advertisers

### CROYDON-PURLEY and District

## M. FERGUSON Corsetiere

(PROF. MISS E. HARDY)  
Especially Underwear  
and  
Sleep Wear

913 BRIGHTON ROAD  
PURLEY—SURREY

Telephone 680-5587

### EXETER

FOR  
Cameras, Processing,  
and Good Advice  
CONSULT

The Devon  
Camera Centre  
Ltd.

Canon Specialists

29, Princeps Way Exeter Devon  
Telephone Exeter 76814

### england

Tell them  
you saw  
their ad  
in the  
Monitor

### LYTHAM ST. ANNES

## H. P. WRIGLEY

WOOD STREET  
PHARMACY  
ST. ANNES-ON-SEA

All  
Photographic Supplies  
TEL. 24503

### LYTHAM ST. ANNES

## WARD'S CARPETS LTD.,

17 North Crescent  
St. Annes-On-Sea  
Tels. 22671 & 22300

Over 27 Years of Service and  
Satisfaction to Our Customers

### NOTTINGHAM

## Lenton & Wilkinson Ltd.

TELEFUNKEN  
COLOUR TV  
and RADIO SPECIALISTS  
A. E. G. Washers  
and Refrigerators

165 Front St.  
Arnold  
267571

### SEVENOAKS

Your Garden  
in colour  
photographed by:  
GEO. P. KING  
LTD.

43 London Road  
Tel: 52643

### SHEFFIELD

## MODERN FURNITURE

Furniture  
Carpets  
Bedding

H. HONSFORD  
LTD.

579-601 London Road  
SHEFFIELD

Phone 50075

### SWITZERLAND

## WOLLEN KELLER

Famous for elegant  
Kilts, Gilets, and Underwear

ZURICH 1 and  
OERLIKON

ZURICH

Wagner  
COIFFURE

am. Kreuzplatz 42  
8000 Zurich

Tel. 34 11 40

## More and more townees move to the countryside

By Clayton Jones  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Millions of Americans are migrating back to the country—reversing a long trend of rural exodus.

New U.S. Census figures and other recent evidence point to a revival of small town and rural living that most Americans deserted in droves for decades.

This back-to-the-country movement has brought a steady stream of new settlers to certain rural areas, particularly in the West since 1970.

To many Americans, a home in the Rocky Mountains or a self-sufficient farm in Vermont or a small house in an Ozark town is more attractive now than life in a city or suburb.

"I looked all over the country for the best place to live," says Tom Thompson, a former Dallas, Texas, urbanite who finally built a home atop an Ozark hill in Mountainburg, Arkansas—population 500.

"Now people are moving here from all over the United States, leaving the city smog and crime and bringing their children up in a beautiful place," said Mr. Thompson who harvests his home-grown strawberries for string beans from neighbors—the closest one a mile away.

Population gains in rural and nonmetropolitan areas have outpaced growth in metropolitan areas (\$0,000 or more), latest census figures show for 1970 to 1974.

In particular, four rural regions stand out on a demographer's map as exhibiting strong rural renaissance: the Upper Great Lakes of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, 8 percent population growth; Rocky Mountains, 7.1; southern Appalachia coal fields, 6.3; and the Ozark-Ouachita, 8.4.

Overall, metropolitan areas grew 2.9 percent in population from 1970 to 1974 while nonmetropolitan areas advanced 1.9 percent, attributable partly to a spillover from suburbs.

Major wide open spaces took in three times the national average of new homebuilders while some counties of Michigan's southern peninsula grew 40 percent.

Other reports of Americans moving steadily toward the South and West come from Mayflower World Wide Moving and Allied Van Lines, Jackson, Hawaii, Florida, and Alaska top the list of states where those movers brought in more families than they moved out.

Also quick to spot a trend, several large retail chain stores are beginning to open new stores on the rural byways—rather than highways—of America.

J. C. Penney Company, for example, has earmarked about 2,000 small cities and towns as good markets for new stores. Other chains

such as Sears, Roebuck & Co. and S. S. Kresge's K Mart, predict small towns will offer stabler profits because of the potential affluence of revived rural areas.

The rural turnaround is traceable to other changes occurring in America, according to Calvin L. Beale, a demographer in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

- Retirement communities are rapidly spreading into scenic areas with many for the first time built in northern climates.

- The long loss of farmers is slowing— to almost one-fourth the rate of decline in the 1960s.

- Business and industry are reopening the economies of rural areas, especially in the expanding grain and coal producing regions.

- The growth of small town colleges is attracting those who once feared what they considered educational and cultural exile in a rural setting.

- A back-to-the-land movement, notably in Vermont, of young people who prefer a simpler life form a small part of the rural revival but by the 1980 census could become substantial.

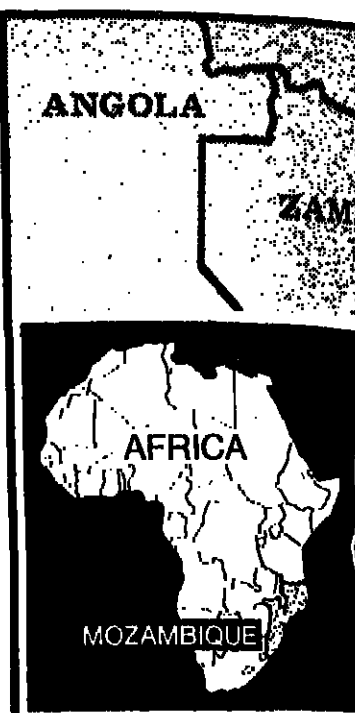
"The environmental-ecological movement, the youth revolution with its somewhat anti-materialistic and anti-suburban component, and the narrowing of traditional urban-rural gaps in conditions of life," explains Mr. Beale, "all seem to have contributed to the movement to nonmetropolitan areas."





Photos by Robin Wright

At pre-independence rallies a young Portuguese (left) waves a Mozambique flag; dancers greet the Prime Minister's plane. A Frelimo soldier looks on.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

## The new black leadership of the country stride Africa's black-white confrontation zone looks the future Independence in Mozambique

After 500 years of Portuguese rule, Mozambique has won its independence. In preparation for this momentous event, leaders of Frelimo, the liberation group that battled Portuguese troops for 11 years, toured the country to talk with the people about their impending freedom. Below is a report from the first Western journalist to travel with the new Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

By Robin Wright

Xai Xai, Mozambique  
The crowd, 11,000 strong, had been waiting, standing, for almost three hours, many having walked over 20 miles to hear what the new leaders of Mozambique had to say. As Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano reached the open platform it started to pour, but no one moved.

"Who has the power?" the energetic figure called to the crowd, ignoring the rain.  
"The people," the crowd called back, smiles breaking out on many faces.

"Who?" he asked again, also smiling.  
"The people," they roared back louder.  
Then, in a sudden serious tone, he asked: "Do you say that just because now you have a black Prime Minister?"

Before giving the crowd an opportunity to answer he continued: "Having freedom does not mean the struggle is over; that the people really have the power."

"We have a whole group of changes and it will take the people — all the people, both black and white people — to do all the work we have ahead of us."

Candidly he appraised the future: "We have many problems. People are starving in the north. Some people have no water. Others have been flooded out of their homes and lost their crops. But we knew we would find Mozambique in the mess it is now in. That is why we began the fight for independence 11 years ago. We wanted to change the inequality and exploitation and rebuild the nation."

For 2½ hours the soft-spoken but charismatic figure held the crowd, all standing in the cool damp night air, as he assessed the future of this massive southeast African country. The only breaks were pauses to hear from the people about their problems and concerns. "Comrade" (Chissano easily wove each issue put forward by the crowd back into the message he had been relaying from the start.)

"What about unequal distribution?" an older man shouted from the back. The Prime Minister responded:

"Before there is equal distribution there must be production. [Currently there is a shortage of both food and foreign exchange in Mozambique.] To do that people must be organized. Equal distribution also means there must be concern about more than the immediate locale or one tribe. Equal distribution means de-tribalization, unity, awareness of the needs of the entire country."

"Discrimination?" a woman called out next.  
"It is not color that exploits and oppresses people; it is a system," Mr. Chissano declared in a firm tone.

### Peacetime Frelimo

"Color alone does not divide. It is ideas, not color, that counts, and anyone who has the right ideas, who wants to work is welcome to stay. Frelimo [Front for the Liberation of Mozambique] fought to establish equality, so we will not refuse equality to those who refused it to us. We need everyone for the work ahead of us."

As people in the crowd continued to call out their problems, the real concerns that had drawn most of them to this rally — What is a peacetime Frelimo? And how will it change their lives? — were slowly being answered.

Although Mozambicans are well acquainted with the movement's reputation and the names of its assassinated founder, Eduardo Mondlane, and current president, Samora Machel, until recently they have known little about its structure and goals for the future.

Since it was founded on June 25, 1962, Frelimo has operated from bases in neighboring Tanzania. The Portuguese Government suppressed publicly about the movement as much as possible. At its peak during the war Frelimo held about one-third of the land, setting up schools, health facilities, farm cooperatives, and establishing new administrative and judicial systems there. But this affected only about 10 percent of the population.

Thus 90 percent of the population knew Frelimo mainly as a military unit, when the transitional government took over last Sept. 30. And communication since then has been difficult

because 80 percent of the population is illiterate and cannot read the newspapers or sidewalk billboards that broadcast Frelimo's socialist platform.

### Restoring people's initiative

At Xai Xai (formerly Joan Belo) the Prime Minister told the crowd:

"The colonialists took initiative away from us. We had no voice in what we grew, how much we produced, what happened to our produce. We want to give it back to the people."

The crowd cheered.

The message has a practical as well as a symbolic value. Frelimo has neither the manpower nor the money to run each village and simply replacing the Portuguese with Mozambicans.

First of all, the nation currently faces a shortage of skilled personnel, due mainly to the mass exodus of 100,000 Portuguese, who dominated the education and labor. The white population of just 1 percent has been halved since January, 1973.

But more fundamentally, Frelimo has a goal: to alter the system to allow greater self-reliance and to alter the system to allow greater self-reliance and to alter the system to allow greater self-reliance.

### 'Spreading the revolution'

Promoting participation in the new government — was thus one of the goals of the tour that brought Frelimo officials to Xai Xai. The Minister repeatedly told the crowd here: "The government does not produce, does not solve our problems. Just stay unity; we must apply it through organization."

Frelimo has a specific plan of organization. It is currently installing throughout the country a network of cells. At the core of the plan is a village or cell, a small group of people gathered in a residential area. A secretariat elected by the residents administers the unit.

Cells theoretically are "to set in motion the creative ability." Specifically, the most immediate task of the cells is to implement two programs: to educate the masses.

"Dynamization," a political "consciousness-raising" program, is the chief concern. Through it Frelimo hopes to explain its policies and prepare people for their new responsibilities. "Alphabetization" is a dual education and work program designed to lower Mozambique's illiteracy rate and organize cooperatives for farming.

Basically cells are to promote the "collective spirit" and to replace the tribal unit as the source of local authority. Previously both production and administration — except in the few urban areas — have been tied to the country's nine main tribes, which were easily controlled by the colonial government. Now village administration will be reorganized into elected people's committees, and agriculture reorganized so that producers work in cooperatives under the direction of the local party.

The elimination of tribalism and the switch to a "people's democracy" is a radical one and the Frelimo leadership is trying hard to make it a smooth and fast one — again for both ideological and practical reasons.

Currently Mozambique relies economically on South Africa and Rhodesia, which use its ports and railways, and on South African employment of Mozambican mineworkers. Through these ties South Africa provided about 75 percent of Mozambique's foreign exchange.

### Economic freedom

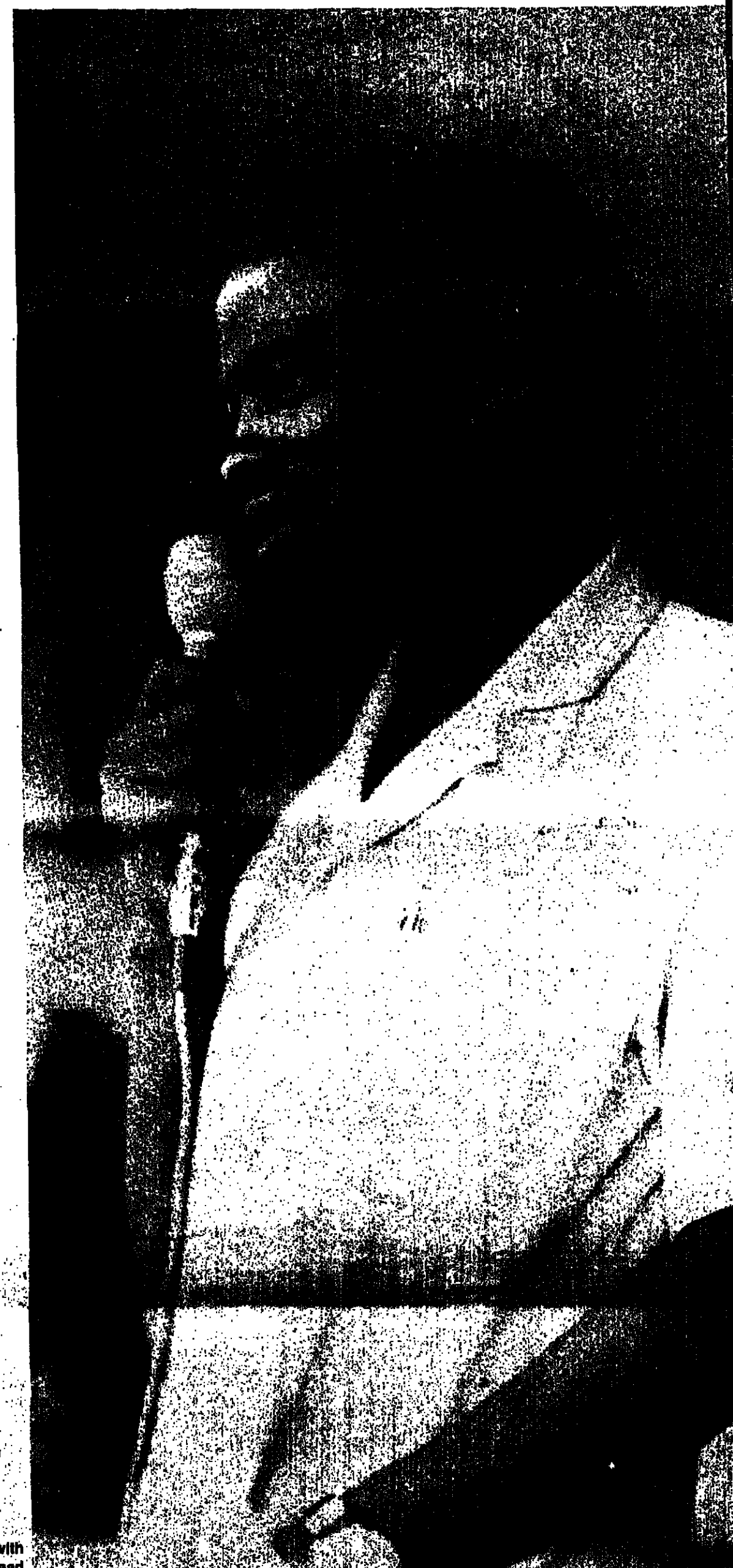
The new government is determined to become economically independent, and agriculture is one of the chief means to this goal. Although agriculture has provided 80 percent of Mozambique's exports, the system is drastically underdeveloped. Only 17 percent of the territory's fertile land is cultivated, and mainly for subsistence farming. Through encouraging new cooperatives and the "collective spirit" Frelimo hopes to spur production and provide badly needed new revenue to help pay off the country's exorbitant \$650 million external debt.

In explaining the next stage of "the struggle" to his Xai Xai audience, the Prime Minister said:

"We will have to work hard to achieve real independence. The most important steps to real freedom are organization and unity, so we can produce for the future and fight any remnants of the past. You control the future," he told the crowd, "because you control the pace at which we organize and unite to begin this work."

Robin Wright is an Allola Patterson Foundation award winner on leave from The Christian Science Monitor.

Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano talks with villagers about independence and the challenges ahead.













# sports



Stealing a glimpse of a match at Forest Hills, New York By a staff photographer

Tennis is on the upswing in the United States

## Europe's tennis decline: can it be reversed?

By John Allan May  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Behind all the color and the drama of this year's Wimbledon tournament has loomed a really serious question.

Can tennis ever come back to Britain and Europe? Return that is, to fulfill the role it once played and which, immensely magnified, it now plays in the United States?

I mean as a prime sport — a major spectator sport, a major participant sport, a major TV sport, a major commercial sport and, finally, as a major social influence?

For modern tennis in these senses is becoming an essentially American phenomenon.

It remains, of course, a national sport in Australia. But at the top level even most Australian tennis is played in the USA. Indeed if any player anywhere in the world is to make

European championships at Rome, Paris and Wimbledon.

But underneath this surface sparkle there is virtually no infrastructure. Even during Wimbledon, with tennis taking over much of British television, one can find empty courts in many localities nearby.

In a relative sense — although of course not absolutely — tennis now is in decline in Europe. Even in Communist countries, where great efforts are being made to popularize it, the game is not making anything like the headway it could.

Here in Britain there are two standard reasons given for this situation: the weather and taxes. It is true that Britain is not blessed with a Californian climate, and that British taxation is so fearsome that no world class sportsman can afford to continue living in Britain. But that is not a full answer. Not even for Britain and certainly not for the rest of Europe, or the rest of the world.

Billie Jean King thinks the answer is twofold: build more tennis courts for the masses and vastly increase prize money for tournaments.

But is it as simple as that? This is what world tennis authorities have been pondering as the drama of Wimbledon unfolds.

Drama there has been in plenty.

Evonne Goolagong suddenly going off and getting married without even telling her mentor, Vic Edwards, then when she found he was hurt, healing what might have been a breach with a typically happy Goolagong gesture, waving and calling to him from the center court balcony as he walked by solemnly below.

Britain's Virginia Wade, whose tennis has shown a marked improvement this year, very nearly being put out in the second round but saving three match points against herself and finally winning.

A tired Ken Rosewall, seeded No. 2, going out to a bounding Tony Roche and proving that computers don't know everything. This one did not know that Wimbledon is a very exciting tournament. Also perhaps that Ken's thoughts, now, are more on his worldwide coaching plans than on winning matches.

Mrs. King coming from behind to beat defending champion Chris Evert in an emotional, significant match, then going on to win her sixth title in what she says will be her last singles appearance here.

And finally Arthur Ashe climaxed his career with an upset victory over defending champion Jimmy Connors in the men's final.

But the real Wimbledon puzzle remains: How can tennis now be made to give to the rest of the world what it is beginning to give to America?



Virginia Wade

a career of tennis it is in America that he or she must do it. And this is true even for most of the major tennis stars so carefully nurtured in Communist countries.

It is in America that most of the technical development is going on, both in the playing of the game and in the matter of equipment. It is in America that the big indoor tennis complexes are being built, and that the tennis court is becoming almost as necessary an adjunct to the home as the pool and the patio. It is only America that can boast something like 25 million regular tennis players.

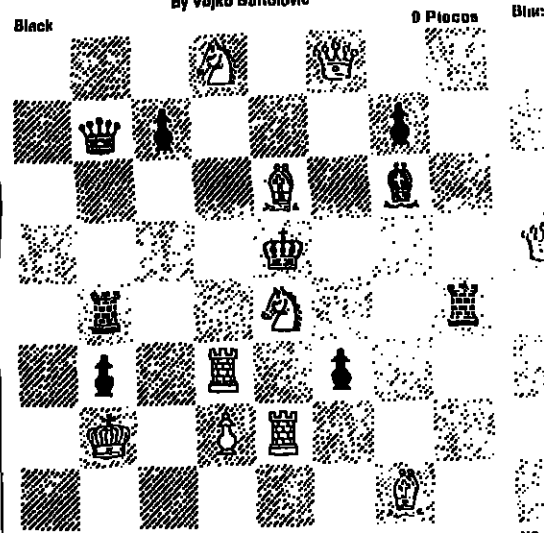
The rest of the world is linked in the Grand Prix events, which take the stars around the world from Norway to Indonesia to Japan and back, and also through the three main

## chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier  
Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

### Problem No. 6709

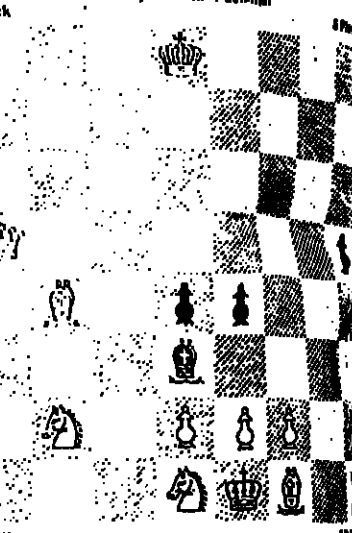
By Vojko Bratolovic



White to play and mate in two.  
(First prize, Main-Post, 1955.)

### Problem No. 6710

By Vladimir Pavlov

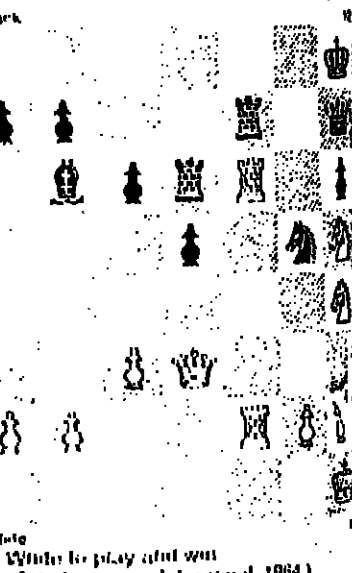


White to play and mate in three.  
(First prize, Olympic Tourney, 1950.)

### Solutions to Problems

No. 6707. Q-K5, 1 Kt-Q6 threatens 2 Kt-K4 No. 6708. 1 Kt-Q6 threatens 2 Kt-K4 If 1... R-K5; 2 Kt-B5ch If 1... B-K5; 2 Kt-B4ch If 1... R-Q5; 2 R-K5ch End-Game No. 2208. White wins. 1 R-B8, R-B7 2 B-K15. Resigns If 1... R-K5; 2 QxK15, K-R7 3 Q-B2ch, etc.

### End-Game No. 2209



White to play and win.  
(Tal Quarterly, Interzonal, 1964.)

### Tal Game Collection

Mikhail Tal is one of the world's most aggressive grandmasters. At twenty-five he briefly held the world championship title, defeating Botvinnik by five points in 1961. As recently as last year he again tied for the Soviet championship in any selection of games from a tournament in which he took part, the reader invariably looks at his games first.

Now English writer Bernard Caffery has put together "Tal's 100 Best Games," just published by Pitman (hard-cover, \$9.95). These games are from the period 1961-1973. They are interestingly annotated with many chapters, introductory chapters tell of Tal's personal development as a chess genius, and his total devotion to the game.

The game below won for Tal a prize for "the best attack played in the style of Alkhin." This tournament was in Moscow in 1961.

### French Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	P-K3	11 P-B8	QxR7
2 P-Q4	P-Q4	12 Kt-B5	PxK1
3 Kt-Q2	P-QB4	13 R-Kch	B-K3
4 Kt-B3	Kt-QB3	14 Q-Q5	P-QR3
5 B-K15	QxP	15 B-Q2	QxP
6 Kt-P	Q-Q2	16 B-K4	PxR
7 B-K15	Q-B4ch	17 Q-B8ch	K-Q2
8 Kt-B3	PxP	18 Kt-Qch	K-B2
9 Kt-P	B-K15	19 QxR	Resigns
10 Q-O	BxK1		

### Chess in a Vineyard

The third annual Paul Masson chess championships will be held in the Paul Masson Mountain Vineyard, near San Jose, California, on July 19-20. Players will be grouped according to their ratings, Master, Expert, A through E, and unrated. Four or five round Swiss events are scheduled with a projected \$10,000 prize fund.

The top for the masters is \$1,500, with generous awards to all classes of player.

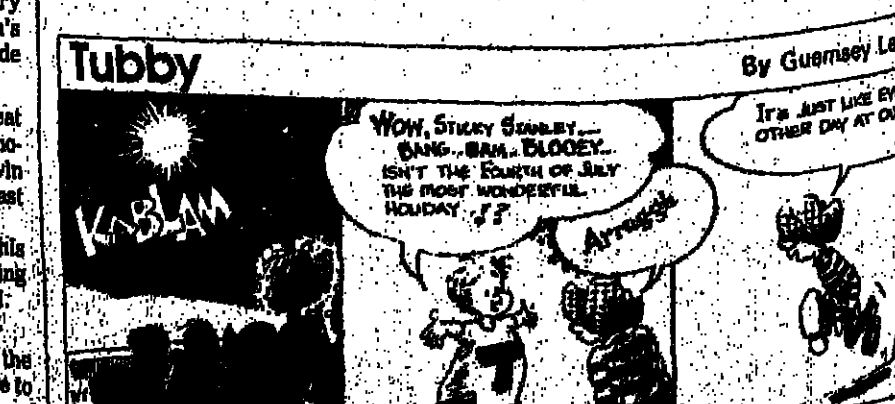
Details may be secured from Martin E. Morrison, 1000 E. 14th St., Newburgh, NY 12550, who is chief director. Last year 555 players competed in the tournament.

### Larsen Again at the Top

The Danish grandmaster Bent Larsen has shown his lightning style by winning the fourth annual Gronse, Spain, tournament in February. This event included eight 10-minute games in spite of two losses to 10-minute games he has won two to win. Larsen is a half-point in front of Ulf Andersson, a young Swedish grandmaster, and Lubomir Kavalec.

### Wing Game

White	Black	White	Black
1 Kt-KB3	17 R-B3	P-B4	
2 P-QK3	18 Q-Q4	Q-B3	
3 B-K12	19 Q-K3	QxP	
4 P-K13	20 P-K4	QxP	
5 B-K12	21 P-P	QxP	
6 P-B4	22 Kt-Q5	QxP	
7 Q-O	23 Kt-K5	QxP	
8 Kt-B3	24 P-K4	QxP	
9 Q-B2	25 R-B	QxP	
10 P-P	26 P-K5	QxP	
11 P-Q3	27 Kt-K5	QxP	
12 Kt-K	28 Kt-K5	QxP	
13 Q-R4	29 Q-B3ch	QxP	
14 P-K3	30 Q-B3ch	QxP	
15 Kt-K2	31 P-K5	QxP	
16 P-KR3		QxP	



Double desk with two low chests, two support legs, and a table top

## Children's furniture that grows

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Finns care about kids. They think they deserve a well-designed little world of their own that really works for them. They feel their furniture should grow with them, from toddler through teen-ager ages and stages.

One such collection is called Muurame. It is made in Lahti, Finland, by a 60-year-old company that was established by Kale Wilkman and is now run by his sons. The original old cabinetmaking traditions per-

sist, but the ultra-modern factory today prides itself on industrial manufacturing with special emphasis on quality.

The designer is Pirko Stenros. Her very first pieces were marketed about 20 years ago. Each year since, she has refined and added to her basic designs.

Each piece in the group can work well alone, or in combination with other pieces. Although a new module width was adopted this spring, any new chest can still be used with any old chest, since depth and height remain unchanged.

Flexibility is the key word. Low-module storage chests can be used as table bases or lined up against a wall and cushioned to serve as seating, as well.

Four two-drawer chests form a useful low table, to which wheels can be easily attached if desired. A handy drawer on wheels, to hold extra bedding, slips under the bed during the day. If the customer wants to stack chests one on top of the other, he does not have to buy unnecessary bases.

If he wants to change the arrangement later, he can buy needed bases separately. He can buy, optionally, deep file drawers or record racks for drawers. New bookcases, delivered knocked-down, can be assembled without any tools. Cabinets can be added at any later time, and hung without the use of any tools.

Tables can easily grow from pre-school size to adult level by means of a quick change of support legs. A bench-night table, by a simple flip-over, can be a bench for a toddler, or a table for a teen-ager.

The same desk or table top, covered with durable white plastic, can advance as a pre-school play surface to a high school student's drafting table. A double desk, big enough for train or car-track, can be assembled from two low chests, two low support legs, and one double table top.

It is the Finns themselves who benefit most from the Muurame product; they consume 70 percent. The other 30 percent is exported chiefly to the United States, Canada, and Sweden. Design, Research stores and the dozen Children's Workbench stores are the most important East Coast outlets.

# home/education

## How an American school stopped vandalism

By Robert P. Hey  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Riverdale, Maryland  
Five years ago vandals broke into the Riverdale Elementary School half a dozen times during the school year, and broke school windows almost every weekend.

Now the level of vandalism here is near zero. Window panes remain whole, and the break-ins have ended. "It's as if an invisible moat surrounds the school," says principal Herman Schiemer. Additionally, there is little in school violence — although some 500 pupils come from the neighborhood — white, ethnic, low-income, low-adult educational level, and the remaining 200 are bused from nearby Seat Pleasant — all black and low income.

Riverdale's success flouts the national trend. The nationwide cost of vandalism and violence is estimated at \$500 million annually, according to a special study of the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee. Public opinion polls in some communities show parents consider discipline, school violence, and vandalism as their schools' top problems.

From now through October the Senate subcommittee is probing this whole issue. One thing Indiana's Sen. Birch Bayh, subcommittee chairman, wants to learn is whether strict discipline — classroom repression and school expulsion — helps solve the problem — or makes it worse.

Riverdale's approach was a blend of reasoning, individual attention, and human love, says Mr. Schiemer. Only as a last resort is discipline used. Since taking over five years ago "I've only suspended two kids," he says.

Subcommittee investigators tentatively think harsh discipline counterproductive. They are looking for success stories from schools using other means.

When he has had to be stern with a pupil Mr. Schiemer makes a point to seek him out at least once later in the day to speak kindly to him — so that the child understands he is loved although his actions have been disapproved of.

Coupled with the school's reaching out to parents and community, this approach gives pupils such a good feeling about the school that they protect rather than vandalize it. Kindness, in addition, also unlocks the doors of learning for many youngsters.

At the core of the Schiemer approach, is the necessity of building one-to-one relationships between a teacher and every child in his class. It takes a long while and with some children must be done outside the classroom: "I tell my teachers," Mr. Schiemer says, "that most children you can 'reach' at school — but some you never can. You have to get to know them outside school."

Thus teachers take a pupil or two to lunch, to a movie, to sleep overnight at their homes, or for the weekend. One young teacher took all the boys in her class to a movie; then invited all the girls to sleep overnight. "They slept up on the third floor; her husband came up and told ghost stories, and they had a great time."

Other educators in the area laud the dedication of the school's faculty.

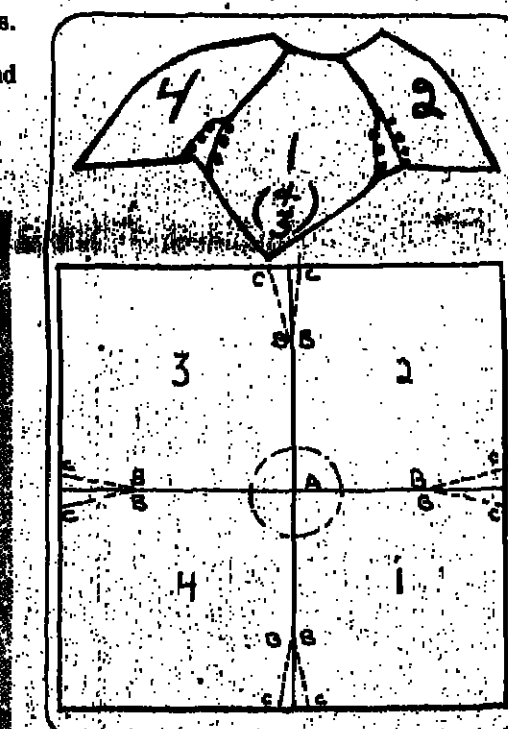
Dr. Harold C. Lyon, head of the federal government's Office of Gifted and Talented Children, once surveyed successful Americans to see if it could be determined what factors contributed to their success. One thread ran throughout, he found: In every person's case, during childhood some adult had stepped out of his formal role, as teacher for example, and had known and related to the child as a friend. This special attention, Dr. Lyon believes, is a key to successful teaching.

## Directions for making a blouse

Summertime is open season for home sewers. The squared-off blouse is an original design by Stevens made here in Logan Tex coordinated fabric. It also could be made in two different solid colors. Or four. Each square requires 6/8 yard of fabric or 1 1/4 yards in all. Stevens shares the easy-to-make, one-size-fits-all pattern with Monitor readers:

- Cut pieces of fabric into four 22-inch squares, using 44/45-inch fabric.
- Mark them as shown on chart. Stitching lines B and C are about seven inches long.
- Sew all four squares together, connecting between A and B, and leaving open from B to C.
- Cut out neckline, using 5/8 inch radius. Finish with bias tape.
- Fold into half, right sides of sections 1 and 3 together, making a triangle.

- Connect stitching lines B and C to each other on section 2. Do the same on section 4. This makes the sleeve seams.
- Connect B and C lines on section 1 to each other. Repeat on section 3 to make underarm seams.
- Hem by machine.
- It can be made easily in one evening at home.



Square-out blouse to make at home

One size fits all

united states  
nursery and  
kindergarten

VIRGINIA  
McMARTIN  
PRE-SCHOOLS



Children 2-5 Years  
Mon.-Fri. 9:00 to 12:00  
Child Care  
Mon., Tues., Wed., Thurs.  
and Fri. until 4:00  
326 and 831 Manhattan Beach Blvd.  
Manhattan Beach, CA 90256  
Tel.: FR 6-8638, 645-0068

SHOP  
Monitor  
advertisers

australia  
boarding and  
day

HUNTINGTOWER  
BOARDING AND DAY  
SCHOOL  
GRADES 1-12



WAIMARIE DRIVE  
MOUNT WAVERLEY  
VICTORIA AUSTRALIA  
ALL STUDENTS ATTEND  
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
SUNDAY SCHOOL



## survey

## How TV pours liquor into American living rooms



## A Monitor survey: What the viewer sees

"The use of liquor in program content should be de-emphasized. When shown, it should be consistent with plot and character development."

— "The Television Code,"  
National Association  
of Broadcasters

By John Dillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Alcoholic drinks — from wine to whiskey — are featured on more than eight out of 10 prime-time TV shows on U.S. networks.

Despite their own television code, which calls for de-emphasizing liquor, the three major American networks have made liquor the most common drink on TV.

Tabulators, from this newspaper looked at 250 hours of regular, prime-time, evening entertainment programs and found that liquor was commonplace.

The survey — which involved three viewers — spanned more than two months. Each regular weekly show during prime time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m.) was viewed at least four times, except in a few instances when shows were dropped by the network during the survey period.

All the shows were tape-recorded to achieve the highest possible accuracy.

The Monitor viewers counted each scene in which alcoholic beverages were drunk, poured, shown, or mentioned.

Altogether, 144 scenes were recorded. The scenes involving some kind of alcoholic beverage were found on 201 of these programs. Hard liquor (including whiskey, vodka, and rum) was involved in 155 of these shows (82 percent). When wine, champagne, beer, and other nondistilled drinks are included, this rises to over 90 percent of the programs.

Hard liquor, the survey found, is the most popular drink on TV. Performances are more likely to drink hard liquor than such beverages as coffee, tea, carbonated drinks, juice and water.

Liquor flowed freely on all three major networks.

Three weeks ago, that kind of frequent reference to alcoholic drinks on TV was the subject of a formal complaint by the government liquor monopoly in Sweden. A spokes-

man for the government monopoly there said that heavy drinking on television poses dangers for society because young people "believe that reality is what they see on the TV screen."

The Swedish agency protested that "if mere mortals would try to live like they do on television... we would be plagued by problems."

In the U.S., liquor on TV has attracted the attention of officials at the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, a federally funded organization.

Donald Phelps, director of the institute's division of prevention, says that "television has been irresponsible as it relates to alcohol."

In old Hollywood movies, says Mr. Phelps, people used to smoke cigarettes heavily. Today on TV, "the glass seems to have been substituted for the cigarette."

Dr. Morris Chafetz, director of the institute, says he has been in contact with the networks and TV writers about the portrayal of liquor on the airwaves. He reports a "cooperative" attitude from the industry.

The answer, suggests Dr. Chafetz, is not federal regulation. Rather he prefers working with the industry to bring about a gradual change in attitudes toward drinking on TV.

Network officials, who watch their mail

closely, say they hear very little from the public about drinking on TV. Only occasionally, they report, does a viewer complain. As a result, some officials say they just do not worry very much about it.

Letters from viewers can make a difference, officials concede. So can complaints to members of Congress, such as U.S. Sen. John O. Pastore (D) of Rhode Island, whose subcommittee oversees television practices.

Alcoholism is America's No. 1 drug problem, according to the institute. The U.S. has some 9 million persons who are alcoholics or alcohol abusers. An estimated 1.13 million children aged 12 to 17 get drunk at least once a week.

It is partly because of such problems that continuous pressure is maintained to keep liquor advertising off television. This is done voluntarily in cooperation between the liquor and television industries. But each is aware that any move to advertise liquor on TV could bring swift regulatory action from Congress.

Despite the advertising ban, though, liquor flows nightly on most of America's television shows. TV is helping to instill the thought among many in the U.S. TV audiences that liquor is a natural, even necessary, part of just about everyone's daily life.

## What U.S. officials found

TV drinking has attracted the attention of federal watchdogs. U.S. officials are quietly putting pressure on TV networks to cut back on the amount of liquor consumption shown in programs.

Dr. Morris Chafetz, director of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, met recently with NBC officials to discuss TV drinking. Future meetings are planned with CBS and ABC.

The Federal Alcohol Institute ran a two-day study of drinking on network TV. Federal tabulators found liquor was drunk or mentioned on 81 percent of the day-time "soap operas." The tab was even higher — 92 percent — for prime-time evening shows.

The federal report confirmed a more lengthy analysis of TV drinking by this newspaper. A Monitor survey found that liquor was a factor on more than 80 percent of the regular, prime-time network shows. The survey spanned some 250 hours.

Federal officials expressed greatest concern over four aspects of liquor on TV:

1. Frequent use, often as a prop.
2. Portrayal of drunkenness as humorous.
3. Depiction of alcohol as a problem solver.
4. Portrayal of liquor as glamorous, sophisticated, or indicating maturity.

## What the networks say

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

An ABC-TV official says of liquor on television: "I think it's an American life-style. . . . I think you've got a reflection of the actual American scene."

Many of the 240 shows surveyed by the newspaper were almost continuous rounds of liquor.

One of these was "Police Story," scenes involved alcoholic beverages — and most involved drinking by police officers. NBC's vice-president of corporate affairs, Robert D. Kasimire, was asked about it.

"It's quite normal for cops, when they go off duty, to stop at a bar," says Mr. Kasimire. "Not to get drunk necessarily, but to have a beer or two, or whatever their tastes lead them to."

"It also makes a logical gathering place, if you're a writer or director; it's a way of bringing people together in order to get something done in terms of plot and characterization."

Richard P. Gitter, ABC's director, Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices (East Coast), says scripts are constantly edited to remove unnecessary drinking. Scripts are covered with editing notes like "One drink is enough," "There is no reason for drunkenness," and "Couldn't he order a beer instead of the hard drink?"

CBS-TV's vice-president for program practices in Hollywood, Richard Kirschner, says: "I think you will find for the most part they're not the hero of the piece who does a deal of the drinking."

"I would be the last person to claim that we are never lapses," says Mr. Kasimire of NBC. "I'm sure that there are. But we look for them. And if we see something . . . a note goes out the next day, or a phone call."

NBC's attitude toward drinking on television is that "alcohol is a drug. . . . The No. 1 drug problem in the United States. . . . Yet taken in moderation, it is not necessarily an evil," says Mr. Kasimire.

Does the liquor industry push their product in Hollywood?

Not presently, according to liquor industry representatives and TV officials. But Mr. Kasimire of CBS says that on at least one occasion in the past five years or so there was a selling job.

"Editors working on the daytime shows . . . discovered that there was an awful lot of pushing of bourbon on all the soap operas. . . . We dramatic serials," Mr. Kirschner says. "We did a little investigating and discovered that the bourbon industry, or representatives of the bourbon industry, had kind of hit upon some of these people, sending them letters and so forth. . . . We put a stop to that type of thing."

"You can't eliminate a scene in which the cop and his informant are in a bar. . . . But we do make every attempt to keep it within the limits of the code," says one network official who is in charge of reviewing broadcast practices.

The same official says liquor plays an important role in characterization. "You get a tough detective, a la Barnaby Rudge. . . . Reminded by a reporter that Barnaby Jones drinks milk, not alcohol, on his show, the official says:

"Does he? Oh, well. We're in the clear. I don't watch. I don't watch it. I read. No, frankly, if anything, I monitor the other networks."

How much, in fact, do the networks know about their own track record with liquor?

"If you show me a statistic from a very punctiliously monitored period of time, similar to the one you have mentioned . . . that might be educational for me," says ABC's Mr. Gitter. "The figure you mentioned seemed pretty high. It might require a reevaluation of our policies."

## people

## Copying a mosaic that cheered Romans in chilly Britain



Laying tesserae

By Alan T. Hand  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Woodchester, Gloucestershire

If you wish to see the Roman mosaic floor that has been described as the finest outside Italy, go to Woodchester, Gloucestershire, in the west of England. But you'll have to be patient. The Department of the Environment allows the mosaic to be uncovered only once every 10 years — and then just for six weeks of viewing. The next showing won't be until 1983. Meanwhile, the mosaic is buried beneath 350 tons of sand, carefully spread to protect the ancient surface from deterioration.

But if you happen to be in the area on an off year, take heart. During one of its rare unveilings, Robert Woodward, a local building contractor, was so impressed by the beauty of the mosaic that he decided to commission an exact replica which could be seen and appreciated by the public at all times.

The replica, now in progress, is being made by Brian Bull, one of England's three top mosaic artists. He is assisted by his daughter, Tina, and his son, Paul. Mr. Bull has worked with mosaics for 20 years.

The site for the replica is a few miles from the original, at the village of Wootton-Under-



The 4 1/2-ton mosaic features animals, birds, fish, Orpheus, Neptune, water nymphs, floral patterns

Edge, some 15 miles from Bristol. A Baptist church is being renovated to house the mosaic; this building was selected because its floor area matches exactly the proportions needed for the replica.

Painstakingly, Mr. Bull and his helpers are laying 1 1/2 million mosaic tesserae, which will cover 2,600 square feet and weigh 4 1/2 tons. These are mounted on four tons of stucco base, held fast by grouting cement.

When completed, the mosaic project will have cost Mr. Woodward a total of £100,000 (about \$240,000).

Even as the work is in progress, the mosaic is open to the public to help recoup some of the heavy cost. It is hoped that the project will be completed in September, 1975.

The reproduction mosaic, meticulously laid from tracings and sketches made in 1973, will be the only one in the world of its size and type. It has been so constructed that, if ever the need arises, it can be lifted in sections and moved to another site.

The mosaic features 12 animals, 12 birds, 6 fish, Orpheus, Neptune, water nymphs, and floral patterns. Mr. Bull's one stipulation was that the same materials as in the original be used. The seven basic colors are: white (limestone), medium tan (Cotswold stone), dark tan (Bristol sandstone), gray (blue lias),

light red (stock brick), dark red (brook clay), and brown (burnt brook clay). Spectators will be able to view the replica from galleries erected over the mosaic.

Mr. Bull considers this his greatest work — not only because of the size and beauty of the project but because the work "has put him inside the soul of the man who made the original."

"I even know how he thought," says Mr. Bull. And, after studying detailed drawings for two years, he will be able to replace in the replica pieces lost in the original.

Laying the floor, piece by piece, has taught Mr. Bull things that even the experts were unaware of. He says, "The original artist had two assistants. I can tell where each day's work began, judge their moods, and tell when things were not going well. One assistant took off in the middle of a day's work and never returned."

But this will not be the case with the Bull family. They enjoy every minute of their intricate task, worthy of the fine talents developed by artists under the reign of some early Caesar.



Robert Woodward (standing) and Brian Bull watch Tina Bull at work

## Indian fair: the ripple of temple bells

By Nergis Datta  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Pushkar, India

What strikes one first is the explosion of color — the flame-colored turbans of the men, the swirling scarlet, purple and turquoise skirts of the women, each eight yards wide, decorated with fine mirror-work embroidery that flashes and glints with each step. Everyone is laden with jewelry, even the animals. Where else in the world could one buy a silver nose-ring for a camel, or a turquoise necklace for a bull?

It is the biggest and most commercially profitable animal fair in India, and a renowned place of pilgrimage. It is believed that on the night of the October full moon, known as *Kartika Purnima*, one dip in the sacred waters of the lake will redeem all past sins.

This year there are 35,000 animals at the fair, and since this is Rajasthan, and desert country, camels predominate, selling for anything between \$400 and \$800 each. There are horses too, thoroughbreds, half-breeds and the small, sturdy Kathiawar ponies famous for their speed.

Pushkar is a small city girdling a lake and hunched in the shadow of the Nag hills, part of the Aravalli range that cuts through the sandy scrubland.

Saffron-tipped prayer flags fly from the

gilded temples, from turrets, balconies, arches and cupolas, and are reflected in the lake like an impressionist painting. The air is filled with the ripple and clash of temple bells, mingling with the prayers of thousands and thousands of pilgrims who have come from all parts of the country. They camp on temple verandas and courtyards, under trees; beside shop awnings, in tents and even under their bullock-carts huddled beside the sleeping animals.

In the labyrinth of lanes that lead to the lake, row upon row of stalls proliferate selling quilted coverings in brilliant colors, ornate jewelry, chunky bone bangles, silver stirrups and embossed saddles polished to a high gleam. Here is such a marvel of life and exotic variety that it seems the nucleus of an improbable dream.

As darkness falls the lake shimmers with a thousand lighted floats. Legend has it that if, on the night of the full moon, a boat made of leaves, with a small lighted wick inside, goes over the water safely to the temple in the center of the lake, one's wishes will all be granted. Today there are not many who take the promise seriously but still the banks are thronged with crowds watching the little boats even when unidentifiable in the dark.

Two days later the roads are crowded with pilgrims returning home until the next year and the next Pushkar fair.









Young Scholar Reading Cicero. 15th century. Fresco by Vincenzo Foppa

## Embroidery

Amid the ordered orb of shouts and tuckets,  
This scholar restores Cicero's embroidery.  
From its vellum tomb to a sympathetic station.  
Mentally he decorates the margins,  
With combats, courantes and ducal sneezes.  
Concluding in an arabesque of scorpions,  
Around the Keeper of the Giraffe,  
Whose powdered hat,  
Failed to save the duke's tallest servant.

David Andres Bershtein

## Just child's play

I am not one of those adults who believes much in the innocence of small children. And when it comes to their ignorance, I'm even less persuaded. Remember that Tom Lehrer song about what used to be known as "the new math"? "It's so simple, so very simple/ That only a child can do it!"

I think of driving the farmer's tractor. The other night I got it into a magnificently inextricable skid in the mud. Couldn't go backwards or forwards. Stuck. A small boy, who had been watching me, came straight out. He wore a smile of indescribable cunning.

In matters of childhood ignorance, appearance is undoubtedly the Great Deceiver. Take Tamsin. Or, more accurately, be taken by Tamsin. For a ride, most likely; she is little enough, and looks innocent, and you wouldn't think she knows much yet. But just play "Pelmanism" with her: that's all. Or "Bego-my-neighbor."

"You know how to play Pelmanism?" she asks, as if uncertain how well I have been brought up. After all I'm only a visitor.

"Of course," I answer, already in my guard.

"Right. Let's play 'Beggarmyneighbor.'" She delivers this non sequitur straight from the hip as if it were a sequitur. And who am I to judge? Any minute now she may stand on her head, and I can't do that to save my life.

We divide the pack. Or rather she does. Not by placing two halves side by side and adjusting a little. Oh no. By counting them out. Eventually she is satisfied that we each have exactly the same number.

Play begins. She takes my knife of hearts. She removes my king of clubs. She bags my queen of clubs. My ace of spades is purloined with a sweep of the hand. Along with these significant figures from my hand she clears away an unfold number of "minor figures." Another queen; plus half a dozen oddments and a knave, bite the dust. Away goes a further ace — and a king. My pile decreases while her pile increases. A couple of minutes more and she's cleaned the board.

So much for beggars. So much for neighbors.

"How about another?" I hazard, challenged. But the little girl's red lips are already having

none of that kind of thing. Her face implies: "You lost. I won. No redress."

"Now Pairs!" she announces. "You mean Pelmanism." "I try to assert a little adult dominance."

"No I don't. I mean Pairs." So the cards are spread all over the carpet, upside down.

"There," she says. "You start." I say. This is pure altruism on my part — oh, and of course, a little bit of the superiority of age and skill: this game, at least, I am good at. In fact (without wanting to boast) I've rarely, if ever, lost it. I have an excellent visual memory, you see. So it's only fair to let my opponent kick off.

And she starts badly. I find three or four pairs before she finds one. Then she narrowly misses a particularly easy pair. "Go on," I say, all kindness, "have another go!"

She finds the pair. Then another. And another. I miss three; she finds two more pairs. The game runs lopsidedly until there are only about five or six pairs left. It is Tamsin's turn. One pair right. Two . . . Three . . .

She picks them all correctly, puts them in a tidy pile, and proceeds with patient deliberation to count and systematically the spoils of her undoubted victory. She doesn't count them quickly in pairs. She counts them one after the other . . . with relish . . . Slowly.

At last she says, "How many've you got?" I tell her.

Pause. (To rub it in.) Then — "I've got more than you. I've got seventeen. That's more than you've got. Isn't it?"

Yes, ma'am. That's more than I've got. So much for lambs in spring and all that.

(And if you don't believe me, try playing her brother, who is not so much bigger: "Mastermind.")

Christopher Anderson

## My son, age nine,

is on the telephone.  
He dials a number,  
speaks with a friend about the speed of light,  
and then, abrupt, hangs up.  
No innuendos complicate his life.  
He watches television,  
studies, feeds his cat,  
eats pretzels,  
plays a game of chess,  
laughs, tells a riddle,  
asks "What time will Dad be home tonight?"  
He is so lean and quick and light,  
who runs like water through my life,  
these clear, uncluttered years  
flowing, like some small mountain stream,  
toward its predestined river.

Every day  
I try to practice  
letting go.

Joan Stern

## You can go home again

June is the month of roses, bird calls, weddings, and reunions. I seldom let June pass without my going back to the university where for many years I taught the young when they were not teaching me. Perhaps I should say while they were teaching me.

Dr. Samuel Johnson once said that a man must keep his friendships in good repair or he will one day find himself alone in the world. A college reunion is an occasion for the repairing and the renewing of friendships. It is the springtime of the human spirit. Often, conversing with persons who had been students of mine in the gone green years, I have the sense that there has been no break in the continuity of thought and feeling, merely an interruption.

Warmed and refreshed by memories of the reunion from which I have just returned, sitting here under a tree my father planted years ago, sitting here listening to the gentle eternal voice of a passing brook, I realize that what is said when persons long separated come together again is not of first importance; but the revitalizing of human relationships is.

They say you can't go home again. But of course that is not so. You can go home again, but you can't stay. A reunion is, in part, a journey into the past. And a journey into the past is not a bad thing so long as you don't get stuck there, so long as you don't try to substitute the past for the present. That is what Justice Shallow did, as readers of Shakespeare will remember. Shallow spent all his time (in Henry IV, part 2) polishing memories, trying to improve the past by dressing it in fancy clothes it had never worn. Old Jack Falstaff, on the other hand, if he did venture into the past to hear the chiming at midnight once again, never gave up living vividly in the present. One who lives vividly in the present can revisit the past without becoming entrapped by it.

Sitting here, remembering events of the past week, recalling how little rivulets of thought and feeling merged, as it were, into one great stream of consciousness, I ponder the old philosophical problem of permanence and change. But I have no time to go into that now. Something — the voice of the brook, perhaps — tells me to take my typewriter to my study and come back out of doors to plant a young tree.

Russell Speare

## The Monitor's religious article

## Our unique role

God is divine Love, and He does not have us wander about in a meaningless vacuum. Each of us has a unique role in the divine plan. Happiness starts by knowing that we are created by God and that His purpose for us is wholly good.

Christ Jesus showed us how to identify with divine Love — by recognizing God's love for us and by loving one another.\* But does this mean that just going around doing good works will solve our identity problem? No. Jesus' command goes much deeper than that.

Christian Science was discovered and founded by Mary Baker Eddy, who spent a lifetime studying the Bible in its deeper, spiritual meaning. She writes, "Happiness consists in being and in doing good; only what God gives, and what we give ourselves and others through His tenure, confers happiness: conscious worth satisfies the hungry heart, and nothing else can."\*\*

Christian Science can help us become conscious of our true worth. It starts by pointing out that according to the Bible we are the image of God, good, who is divine Spirit; so, in reality, our real nature must be spiritual and good. This understanding of man as God's reflection is a very important point in Christian Science. We learn that a material and mortal picture of man is really an illusion imposed by a limited concept of God.

As we begin to comprehend in a degree the infinite presence of God and His all-embracing love, supreme Intelligence, power, and substance, matter and mortality begin to lose their claim to power or even reality. In fact, as we see man as the expression of God's creative activity, we can understand ourselves as wholly made up of spiritual ideas.

Mrs. Eddy says of man, "He is the compound idea of God, including all right ideas."† This God-created nature includes the individuality of each of us. It means there is individual work for each one to do, individual supply for that activity, and rewards that each one can recognize. We have a divine right to claim our perfect unity with God and to feel the warm assurance of our own place in His plan. This place and purpose become apparent as we exchange a limited, mortal picture of ourselves for the spiritual concept. You and I actually consist of the glorious spiritual qualities of God — joy, intelligence, love, completeness, to name only a few. As we know this, we can begin to value ourselves and our divine purpose.

The proper estimate of ourselves helps us to value others in the same way. We begin to see our associates and members of our family as spiritual, expressing Godlike qualities. In this light we can find our real spiritual identity and with it a satisfying pattern for living.

\*See Matthew 22:35-40; \*\*Message to The Mother Church for 1902, p. 17; †Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 475.

## DAILY BIBLE VERSE

Every day will I bless thee; and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.

Psalms 145:2

## Damask rose

By a New England cellar hole

Some farmer's wife one day in life,  
At dawn, perhaps, or gloaming —  
Set down this root, the first pale shoot,  
To keep her heart from roaming.

The cabin yard was bare and hard,  
And yet she had her yearning —  
Damascus far and Persia's star  
And all Romance returning.

So here it grows — her Damask rose,  
Though all the farm is dying;  
Its petals hold its ring of gold —  
The dullest are sighting.

Louise Montell

## Sequestered

My father carried  
his pack across crevasses,  
a small pack, enough,  
to hold a few dreams.  
As he picked his way  
over years, his remaining  
dreams weighed heavily.  
He discarded them.  
With careful hands,  
I sequestered them.  
One day I brought them  
to my father. He recognized  
them, took them to mind.  
They enveloped him,  
he knew no more burden.

S. H. Effie

## Send for your free copy of the Christian Science Sentinel.

Here's a weekly magazine full of problem-solving ideas.

Its inspiring articles, editorials, personal accounts of healing, and stories for children offer clear views of God and man's relationship to Him. . . new insights into important current subjects, proof of God's goodness in people's daily lives.

Your free copy of the Sentinel awaits you. Just fill out and mail this coupon, and we'll send it with no obligation.

Christian Science Sentinel  
Box 125, Astor Station  
Boston, MA, U.S.A. 02122

Please send a free Sentinel to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State/Country \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# OPINION

Melvin Maddocks

## The silly season

There are a lot of good things to be said for summer. Remember winter and you'll have most of the arguments well in mind. But beyond the obvious distinctions that make summer a climate of reward, winter a climate of punishment, one advantage to June-July-August often gets overlooked.

When summer arrives, history slows down. Just think. Until September Paris will not dare pronounce a New Look in fashion. New York will not be allowed to hail another Best First Novel of the Decade. Washington being Washington may insist on digging up a scandal — a small one. But hush, little children, hush. Teddy Kennedy won't have to deny again that he is running for president. Until September.

In a world nearly hysterical from change, summer has become human nature's (as well as Nature's) necessity. In the summer we all can live at the pace our fathers lived at in the winter.

That slow? Well, maybe not. But the summer self is a

different personality from the winter self — less dutiful perhaps but more aware, more likely to take time. In the summer, along with the tan, everybody gains a Mediterranean soul.

Summer, said Christina Rossetti, is the season when "one day in the country is worth one month in town." Polls indicate that people are happier living in sight of mountains and bodies of water, as they are more likely to do in the summer. Who needs a poll to confirm the self-evident?

Even in the city, on a front stoop or around an open hydrant, summer brings a sense of space. The law of perspective is: Outdoors the ego exists on a different scale than indoors.

So summer is the season when people take the long view of themselves. Only they put off doing much about it until after Labor Day.

Summer is the grace period for the Puritan conscience. No bills due for 90 days.

Who can really worry in the summer about his or her career? In the summer you keep forgetting two things: to be anxious, and to be ambitious.

Summer is a terrible time for the workaholic. He survives only through that stimulation of winter — office air-conditioning.

Summer defrocks the overcivilized man. Sun and warm water invite him to bare himself as much as local customs and his own notions of decorum permit. But

the ultimate liberation is to walk barefoot. When skin actually touches the ground, messages get sent back and forth in a code addressed to the primeval memory.

And as people go native, the possessive impulse seems to ebb. One is never more conscious that ownership requires constant care.

Summer is the season when people fantasize escapes from what they are the rest of the year. It is easy to fantasize but, alas, hard to plan in the summer.

Summer is enough to turn a man into a philosopher — if a slightly sun-struck one. Certainly summer is the time when people most nearly live in the Now.

A summer's day gives an illusion of forever. Surely this sun, this greenness, these smells of full flowering are too palpably present ever to go away? Everybody knows better, even as everybody conspires in the mood of Endless Summer. And so one presses summer on the palate, like the season's fresh fruits.

In journalism summer is known as the "silly season." Readers (so the assumption goes) can be titillated only by trivia — the popcorn and salted peanuts of the news. Headline stories about a swimmer who loses his toupee in the surf and a week later finds it serving as a nest for a sea gull. That sort of thing.

Still, if the season is a little crazy, it is crazy in a nice, universal, cycle-of-life way. And when history returns from vacation in September with all its obsessions still in place, who can say that the silliness of summer doesn't have its won wisdom?

Joseph C. Harsch

## How to stop inflation

The perplexity of modern governments over the problem of inflation reminded me that there was once an inflation worse, considerably, than any inflation which has yet happened among the modern industrial democracies — and also that it was met and mastered by a government which recognized that it had to be stopped.

That was in Germany of the Weimar Republic. It struck me as perhaps worthwhile to get out the history books and see just exactly what did happen then, and how the German Government met and mastered its inflation problem.

The cause of the German inflation was unusual and bears no relation to present conditions. The Western allies who had defeated Imperial Germany in 1918 were determined to collect "reparations." They imposed upon Germany a scale of reparations payments which John Maynard Keynes, the economist, estimated was three times the capacity of the German people to pay. Any attempt to collect such a sum, he reasoned, would only reduce their capacity to produce and to earn. It would be self-defeating. But the allies insisted. When German payments lagged, the French and Belgians invaded the Ruhr and attempted to collect their reparations by force in the form of coal and

industrial products. The Germans went on strike.

Since the industries of the Ruhr were essential to the entire German economy it meant that the German economy was virtually strangled. Inflation took off.

The time span involved was brief.

The unrealistic allied reparations demands were announced in January of 1921 when the German mark was worth about .65 to the dollar. Inflation grew fairly slowly at first. In January of 1923 the mark stood at 125 to the dollar. By July it was 500 to the dollar. But the big jump came when the French and Belgians invaded the Ruhr in January of 1923. By August it took 4 1/2 million marks to buy a dollar. By November it had gone to 4 trillion to the dollar.

That was when the German Government took matters in hand and when the Western allies realized that their reparations policies were self-defeating. They trimmed down the reparations to a bearable level.

The remarkable thing about the story is that the German inflation was then corrected — within three months.

Here is where we come to matters which can have some relevance to these times. There was in Germany a roaring inflation. It was halted in its tracks. Germany has had a stable

currency ever since — one of the most stable in the world. How?

It was done by first issuing a new currency at one new mark to one trillion of the old. That meant a rate of 4 marks to the dollar which is close to what it has been much of the time since. (Today the German mark is up to 43 cents — or, the dollar which used to buy 4 marks now buys only a little over 2 marks — which is one measure of the present American inflation, and why German prices seem so high to American tourists, but not to Germans.)

Next was the problem of keeping the new mark stable, which, of course, was the hard and the important part of the operation. That was done by issuing a very limited quantity of the new marks and by not letting any government department or private industry have more than its budget authorized or its earnings justified.

For government this meant that every department of the German Government was required to live within its income, which also meant dismissing surplus employees. For business and industry it meant no borrowing to support a payroll beyond earnings. For everyone, it meant a sharp rise in unemployment.

Within three months prices were falling.

Within six months unemployment was also falling as business and industry steadily improved. The price was acceptance of six months of high unemployment. The result was a sound and prosperous economy.

It sounds hopelessly old fashioned and "square." Today's economists insist that it is possible to regain economic stability without the price of the interim period of high unemployment. They may be correct. We watch with fascination to see whether the British can overcome their inflation without accepting a rise of unemployment. We can hope that there is a better way than the one the Germans used to stop inflation in 1923.

But it remains an interesting fact that the German inflation was stopped cold in November of 1923 and that by spring of 1924 the Germans were back at work with a stable and sound currency. They have been doing well economically ever since.

Their winter of 1923-24 was hard, with long breadlines. But it is not the pangs of that winter which the Germans remember with horror to this day. It is rather the preceding months of inflation which wiped out the savings and the values of the great German middle class and thus produced the frustrations and the resentments which became the raw material of Adolf Hitler's politics.

## Czech-mating Brezhnev's game?

By Karel Tynsky

published in full in the Italian Communist press, as was earlier the testament of another leader of the defunct Prague spring of liberalization, the late Josef Smrkovsky. If the Italian Communist Party wants to obtain a share in government, it must obviously refuse to accept Soviet interference in another European country which has chosen a type of socialism different to that promoted by the Italian party to the Italian government.

It has been pointed out that Dubcek now directly criticizes the Soviet Union for its intervention in 1968 but puts all blame on the tiny Stalinist group in the country which "misinformed" the Kremlin so that it "mistakenly" sent its troops to put things right.

This aspect has led to wide speculation in the underground press. There are rumors of a secret trip by Dubcek to Moscow and of the publication of his famous letter at least with tacit Soviet approval. Giselav Husak, Dubcek's successor as party leader, according to these speculations, can no longer be sure of Soviet backing. His recent nomination to the presidency but quite honorific post as the country's president is described as the first step to demotion.

On the other hand, it is thought unlikely that Moscow will switch to Husak's opponents on the ultra-Stalinist right. In the context of European détente and when the democratic

left in the West is being wooed, Moscow is unlikely to tolerate a group in Czechoslovakia which would employ the harshest repressive methods against dissidents: Husak, after all, though he did not deliver pacification, had been reluctant to employ extreme methods.

In this context, rumors that Dubcek might be on his way back to power sound less wild; the question is whether he would want to lead the nation to a new liberalization which would, obviously, be tightly controlled by Moscow but would go a long way in appeasing the defiant populace.

Party leaders, at "private briefings" (which sooner or later turn up in the underground press), complain about the Soviet unwillingness to permit an orientation of the Czech economy more in line with the country's structure and needs, and less dependent on trade with the Eastern bloc. They complain — and these complaints increasingly appear even in the official press — about the unbelievable extent of corruption. It is not uncommon in the system of free medical care that patients have to pay bribes amounting in thousands of crowns. And in the tightly controlled university system, where the proper "political profile" of the parents, up to 20,000 crowns has been paid to members of an admissions board for medical school. Even a

party card can be bought, one story in an underground paper states.

Meanwhile, there has been the case of Bohumil Hrabal, author of "Closely Watched Trains," a subtle satirist in the Thurner vein who had never been involved in politics. He was blacklisted by the Husak regime because his writing did not fit into the newly imposed canon of socialist realism. His "self-criticism" now published in the official press, written in such crude and bureaucratic language, that, according to the prevailing view, it was written by some police investigator. Hrabal signed it and now can publish again.

The majority of writers, historians, sociologists, philosophers, filmmakers, and artists continue to defy the regime. However, their material conditions are rapidly deteriorating. Many are unable to cope with the mental job they have been assigned to and their incomes are dwindling. The latest issue of an underground bulletin contains an appeal to "colleagues in the West" to do everything possible to help.

The question is whether anything can or will be done to make Czechoslovakia less of an obstacle to Mr. Brezhnev's closely watched timetable for getting Communists together before he retires.

Mr. Tynsky is a Czech writer now living in the United States.

# COMMENTARY

## Tinkering with apartheid

By Henry S. Hayward

Is apartheid really changing in Prime Minister John Vorster's land? The question is asked repeatedly here and abroad.

Are at least the beginnings of a shift from white supremacy rule to equal rights for blacks yet in sight in this stronghold of southern Africa?

It would be highly significant to report that this is the case, and some whites sincerely believe it to be so. But the official evidence still seems to point rigidly the other way.

True, some surface improvements in racial policy have been introduced recently, and more are still appearing. It would be a welcome moment for critics of apartheid, including the United States Government among others, to say these were forerunners of a truly basic shift.

But that fundamental pillar of apartheid — permanent separation of the black and white races and white minority control of the national government — remains totally unchanged at this stage, as far as a neutral observer can see.

To contend otherwise, according to informants here, is mere wishful thinking.

Yet one does encounter intelligent people who read a great deal into the current easements. "South Africa is really changing at last," enthused a Rhodesian resident this correspondent talked to recently in Salisbury. "Look at the way they are abolishing restrictions on blacks in hotels."

But Mr. Vorster's ruling National Party

specifically denies this. It says there is no truth in the claim that recent legislation would open the country's hotels and restaurants to all races equally. It said so in a full-page advertisement in Die Transvaler, the National Party newspaper. It did this pointedly just before some important by-elections which it then won.

The Prime Minister, moreover, said last March that separate facilities for whites, blacks, and Indians remained the ideal. If that is not apartheid, the distinction is hard to see.

More recently, Interior and Information Minister Connie Mulder emphasized that although the government is moving away from some forms of racial discrimination, it would not accept integration of the races as its policy.

"Moving away from discrimination does not mean that we are panicking and running away because of what happened in Mozambique," Dr. Mulder was reported as saying.

Again, this sounds like apartheid, even if a certain amount of discrimination is removed out of necessity.

Such high-level statements are regarded at least partly as being necessary assurances to the conservative, pro-apartheid majority of the National Party that its long-term racial policy is not being eroded by current moves.

Well aware of this party sentiment, Mr. Vorster has moved with extreme caution and skill in making reforms and changes. So far they are cosmetic rather than drastic. He applies the same formula to his offers of détente with black Africa, another policy his

own rightwingers look upon with great distrust.

As was shown in the parliamentary session recently finished in Cape Town, Mr. Vorster and some of his ministers are ready to grapple with basic changes and feel this is the temper of the times. But the Prime Minister's dilemma is that his mandate at the polls comes from people who feel quite the contrary about change.

Thus one gets the impression that the government is chipping away at its own monolithic apartheid structure, built up over the past 27 years of National Party rule, without really wanting to change its face too much — and certainly not intending to bring the monolith crashing down.

The chips nonetheless are impressive in the aggregate. They include urban property rights for blacks, the ending of restrictions on Indian travel and residence, permitting blacks to eat in dining cars of luxury trains, mixed Rugby and cricket teams, and easing of job restrictions for blacks and coloreds.

On this latter point, however, Minister of Labor Marais Viljoen stressed that "whites' jobs" now being opened to blacks would revert to whites if South Africa slid into a recession. At present, there are more jobs here than white workers to fill them. But if this changes, the warning is that the black man will be forced to go and this particular form of discrimination will return.

Mr. Hayward is the Monitor's correspondent in Africa.

Charles W. Yost

## How long will Egypt wait?

Egypt wants peace. There can be no doubt about that.

With a population of 38 million, still growing at an astronomical rate, cities whose essential facilities are strained to the breaking point, food supply just barely sufficient and never secure, industrial development constricted by lack of capital and know-how, Egypt clearly wants neither further war nor another costly period of no war-no peace.

It would be a great mistake, however, to assume that these burdens and necessities will oblige Egypt to buy peace at any price, or even to renounce war indefinitely.

The most tragic lesson of the 20th century is that in our turbulent age national pride and passion almost always override simple logic and practical self-interest. Egypt will not accept the permanent loss of any territories, nor will it wait too long for their recovery. It will not make a peace separate from Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians, nor will it accept an interim agreement which prevents it, at the time it considers appropriate, from assisting its friends to recover their territories or to obtain self-determination.

These are the dual imperatives by which Egypt and President Sadat are constrained, within which he seeks an accommodation which is not a betrayal, and which gives his policy an appearance of ambiguity which is both unavoidable and misleading.

Actually the policy is remarkably straightforward. President Sadat, first of all among Arab leaders but others have now followed, has publicly and explicitly recognized the existence of Israel and its sovereignty within its 1967 boundaries. He has shown not only a willingness but an eagerness to negotiate an overall settlement under United Nations Reso-

lution 242 or, as long as it is neither a substitute for such a settlement nor an excuse for prolonged postponement, another interim agreement for further disengagement in the Sinai.

Such an interim agreement would obviously reduce tensions and improve the atmosphere in the Middle East. It would be valuable either in and of itself or as a propitious prelude to a return to Geneva for the practical negotiations required for an overall settlement. It would buy some time but it would not buy a great deal of time.

In the Egyptian view, such a further disengagement in the Sinai should be followed by a similar, though no doubt less extensive, withdrawal from the Golan Heights, and by unspecified moves toward recognition of Palestinian rights. In other words, it would never be considered as an end in itself nor even as an isolated step.

As to Geneva, the Egyptians show a willingness, but no real enthusiasm, for resuming there the search for a permanent comprehensive settlement. This lack of enthusiasm derives from their fear that the complexities of that task would be so great that another stalemate would arise, a stalemate from which it would be even more difficult to disengage than the present one.

So President Sadat, with remarkable adroitness and imperturbability, steers his ship of state between the Scylla of war and economic disaster and the Charybdis of imprisoned Arab nationalism. Either could be fatal to his government.

It should be noted that there is a significant difference of opinion among Egyptians about the impact of the time element. The official view is, as stated above, that another long stalemate with Israel in occupation of Arab

lands cannot be tolerated and that, if it should seem to be taking shape, it would have to be broken again by whatever means were available.

Others take a different view. They argue that time is working for Israel in the short run, since, if nothing decisive happens in 1975, the United States will be immobilized by its electoral campaign and Israel will be able to hold the occupied territories for another two years.

They insist, however, that in the longer run time works more and more for the Arabs, that after two or three years they will be both economically and militarily vastly stronger than they then will need to make the painful compromises now required.

Almost all Egyptians, it is disturbing to find necessary to hold their peace upon the United States the main responsibility for obliging Israel to make a settlement, as they would no doubt place upon it the main blame if no settlement is obtained. Their claim is, of course, that it is only U.S. military and economic aid which enables Israel to refuse a settlement and that, if this aid were withheld, Israel would be obliged to yield.

This is very probably a misreading of Israeli psychology. In any case it reflects a weakness which the Arabs and Israelis share — a preference for demanding that the United States extract essential concessions from the other side, rather than themselves freely offering concessions which would be much more likely to evoke a favorable response.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

© 1975 Charles W. Yost

## British India-watchers

By Francis Renny

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
The drama of Mrs. Gandhi's court case, her declaration of emergency and arrest of nearly 700 opponents has been followed closely and with some anxiety in London. Despite what some of Mrs. Gandhi's advisers have said, the British are relieved rather than disappointed not to be running the Indian Empire still.

But British commercial and cultural links remain, and there are still thousands of British in middle-age who served and loved India. They now help to provide a well-informed and understanding press on the subject.

From the start it was pointed out that Mrs. Gandhi's conviction on charges of electoral malpractice was rather a case of a busy woman cutting corners than of real corruption. Mrs. Gandhi scarcely needs to stoop to corruption, and compared with many of her associates and adversaries is as pure as the white saris she wears. But even her defenders in London found it hard to accept the dramatic coup of the emergency and the mass overnight arrests as justified. Newspaper censorship produces an understandable snarl of anger from the British press, not only because of the whole principle involved, but also because of a fraternal feeling for the English language papers of India. These have long been under pressure from the Indian government, and there is much respect in London for the way Indian newsmen have stood up to that pressure.

British India-watchers can easily understand the sequence of events that drove Mrs. Gandhi to her extreme actions: the assassination of party colleagues, the indignity of the corruption trial, the defeat of her Congress party in the state of Gujarat, and the call by a motley band of unsuccessful opposition groups for a week of demonstrations against her. The opposition was decisively defeated in the last general elections in India, but ever since has been looking for unparliamentary ways of dislodging her.

These have included such tactics as pushing cows into the Parliament House and marching on Delhi with an army of 60,000 sadhus (or holy men) — a campaign which led to riots, burning and looting. The fact is that, with one or two exceptions, it is very hard to take the opposition seriously.

To quote the London Times "However justified criticism of Congress rule and Mrs. Gandhi's leadership may be there is no speck of promise of anything better on the India political scene."

One of the few exceptions among opposition leaders is Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, a man of unimpeachable integrity who correctly forecast Mrs. Gandhi's assumption of dictatorship only a few hours before he was arrested. It was his year-long campaign against Congress party corruption that did the most to stir up the agitation which the Prime Minister found so intolerable. For quite regardless of the utility of the opposition parties, London observers feel obliged to agree that the Congress's 28-year monopoly of power has rotted it to the core. And they find it hard to see anything in Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorial grab which will cure that.

Admittedly she has the world's most chaotic, explosive and poverty-stricken people to govern. It is felt she will not make them united, calm or rich by tolerating corruption.

But perhaps the saddest thing about Mrs. Gandhi's coup is the final contempt it has shown for India's own version of Westminster parliamentary democracy. As the liberal, pro-Indian Guardian commented: "What she has thrown away, maiming the ramparts against a supposed onslaught, is basic belief that India's rambunctious but curiously resilient democracy can cope."

British India-watchers agree that there is a precedent for censorship and the mass arrest of politicians — a precedent set by the British themselves in the bad old days of imperialism.